ش

— Ibn Hassan

Rs. 20.00

The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire

And

Its Practical Working up to the Year 1657

BY

IBN HASAN

WITH A FOREWORD BY

SIR E. DENISON ROSS

PAKISTAN BRANCH
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LAHORE KARACHI DACCA

Oxford University Press, Ely House, London W. 1.

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
CAPE TOWN SALISBURY IBADAN NAIROBI LUSAKA ADDIS ABABA
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
KUALA LUMPUR HONG KONG

P. O. Box 5093, McLeod Road, Karachi 2

Reprinted 1967

Printed by offset at Civil and Military Press, Karachi

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Publishers are indebted to the Trustees of British Museum for permission to reproduce portions of MSS in their collections.

The Publishers also wish to acknowledge that this reprint is undertaken with the kind permission of Mrs Ibne Hasan.

CONTENTS

'Afīf	=	*Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī.*
Ā'īn	=	*Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, by Abul Fazl.
A.N.	=	*Akbar Nāma*, by Abul Fazl.
Badā'ūnī	=	*Muntakhab-al-Tavārīkh.*
Barnī	=	*Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī.*
Benī Prasad	=	*The State in Ancient India.*
Bev.	=	H. S. Beveridge's translation of *Akbar Nāma.*
Bloch.	=	H. Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn.*
Brahman	=	Chandra Bhān Brahman, author of *Chahār Chaman.*
De Laet	=	*Empire of the Great Mogul.*
Ghoshal	=	*A History of Hindū Political Theories*, 2nd ed.
Lāhorī	=	*Bādshāh Nāma.*
M.U.	=	*Maāsir-ul-Umarā*, by Samsām-ud-Daula.
Mu'tamad	=	*Iqbāl Nāma.*
Sālih	=	*'Amal-i-Sālih.*
Tuzuk	=	*Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.*

Only the abbreviations most frequently used are listed here, and the reader should refer to the Bibliography on p. 373 for further information.

MR. IBN HASAN has invited me to write a few words by way of introduction to his work on *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire in Northern India.* As the teacher under whom he prepared this thesis, for which he was awarded the Ph.D. degree, I am, at any rate, in a position to testify to the vast amount of research and hard work which this book entailed. I think it may be claimed that no source, whether Indian or English, has escaped him, and as far as regards the Mughal administration at headquarters, this book covers the whole ground in a manner never before attempted; in future it must always form a companion volume to the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, and it will be studied by all serious students of Mughal history.

Nothing in this work is more humanly interesting than the author's account of the active part played by the Mughal emperors in the administration of the state, and their efforts to achieve their ideals of kingship by means of an organized administrative machinery. This machinery was brought to perfection by Akbar, who in ordinary times regulated his working hours with the same precision that he demanded of his ministers. Akbar's day was both long and strenuous, beginning as it did with the public appearance soon after sunrise and continuing often until long after sunset, the morning work usually occupying four and a half hours at a stretch. It is especially interesting to note the list which Mr. Ibn Hasan gives of the causes of absence of Akbar and his two immediate successors from state business; these causes are practically confined to sickness and mourning.

In this book will be found a full description of all the state departments, of the functions of ministers and

officials, and an outline of the judicial system. On these subjects it would be hard to think of a question which is not satisfactorily answered in these pages. It is much to be hoped that Mr. Ibn Hasan will follow up this work with a study of the provincial administration of the Mughals.

E. DENISON ROSS

London
27 September 1933

NOTE

I regret to write that the author passed away on 11 March 1935, while the book was still in the press. I have had the privilege of having been his closest friend since 1915 when we met each other for the first time as students of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh. My twenty years' close contact with the deceased entitles me to testify to his love for, and devotion to, medieval Indian history. He had an ambition to be able to remove the various misconceptions prevalent regarding this period of the history of our country. In his untimely demise, the subject has lost an honest and devoted worker, the Osmania University an able, and not-to-be-easily-replaced teacher and the writer of this note a unique friend.

He has left some material for a second volume dealing with the Provincial Administration of the Mughals, and efforts will be made to make this material public, as soon as circumstances permit.

Thanks are due to Dr Yusuf Hussain Khan, Professor of History in the Osmania University, who went through the proofs which the author was unable to finish and also to Mr. Janki Pershad of the Translation Bureau, Osmania University, who has prepared a comprehensive Index on most modern lines.

HABIBUR RAHMAN

Osmania University
Hyderabad, Deccan
June 1936

INTRODUCTORY

THE SCOPE

GEOGRAPHICALLY the subject is limited to northern India, historically to the period falling between the year 1560, when Akbar began to rule, and the year 1657, when Shāh Jahān ceased to rule, and topically to the central structure of the Mughal Empire. The scope

The object of the present work is to give an outline of the organization of the administrative machinery of the central government of the Mughal Empire under Akbar, and trace its practical working under his two immediate successors who faithfully followed his policy, carried out into practice the principles set by him, and gave his institutions a permanent character which lasted even after the power which established and worked them had gone.

The work is divided into three parts. The first part is divided into two sections: (*a*) The king and his position in the state; (*b*) The king and the transaction of state business by him. The object of the first section is not to describe the Islāmic theory of state or the position assigned to the king by Muslim jurists as their khalīfa, but to present the ideal held before an Indian monarch, the duties assigned to him, and the expectations held of him by Hindū political thinkers and Muslim contemporary writers, and the conception of the Mughal emperors themselves about their own position.

The second section describes the practical steps which Akbar took to carry out the functions of kingship from an Indian standpoint, the routine

he established for the life of an Indian monarch to fulfil the peculiar needs of the country, and the expectations held of him by the Indian people over whom he ruled. A chapter included in the same part deals with the legal procedure of the draft of farmāns or royal orders.

The second part deals with the reorganization of vizārat under Akbar, the determination of the position of the Vakīl (the prime minister) of the Empire, and the division of the powers and functions associated with a vazīr in a Muslim state into four ministers of nearly equal power, rank and status. Accordingly this part deals in five chapters with:

i. the Vakīl—Prime Minister.
ii. the Dīvān—the chief minister in charge of Revenue and Finance.
iii. the Bakhshī—the minister in charge of the Military Department.
iv. the Mīr Sāmān—the minister in charge of *kārkhānas* (factories) and stores maintained by the central government.
v. the Sadr—the minister in charge of the Ecclesiastical and Judicial Department.

The scope of these chapters is not limited to the description of the powers and functions assigned to the ministers as heads of departments, but the internal working of each department has been described and substantiated by the historical facts of the period. Hence these chapters cover the greater part of the work. A sixth chapter has also been added to the same part, which deals with the relative position of the ministers and the checks imposed upon their power in the state.

The third part gives an outline of the judicial system of the Empire, in which the judicial structure of an Islāmic state, as laid down by Muslim jurists, which served as the model for the Mughals and was substantially retained by them, has also been described.

The final chapter of the work summarizes the conclusions.

It may be pointed out that no attempt has been made to draw parallels between modern institutions and those of the Mughals, nor is any effort made to find in them the traces of all that the modern world has achieved in the sphere of state organization and administrative efficiency in this age of science, of wireless and of aeroplanes. Accordingly the institutions of the Mughals are neither judged in this work by modern standards nor condemned for the lack of modern ideals and conceptions of state duties and functions.

On the other hand, it starts with the idea that the constitution and the form of a government, its functions and its scope of activities, are determined, to a very great extent, by the geographical characteristics of the country and by the ideas, the character, and the standard of intellect of its people. The institutions of a particular country at a particular given period, together with the measure of support given or the resistance offered to them by the people of that country, are like a mirror in which are reflected the ideas and character of that people. The greater the conformity of those institutions to the peculiar needs of the country, whether military, political or economic, the better will they be for the people. Hence, with a view to explaining these aspects, a part of the introduction is devoted to the description of the geographical features of Northern India and their effects upon the people and form of government, and to give a summary of the experiments and lessons of three centuries of Muslim rule prior to the Mughals. An attempt has also been made to show, side by side, how far the Mughals maintained continuity with the past of India in ideas and in practice, and to what extent they were influenced by their own ideas and con-

ceptions, or by the examples of other Muslim kingdoms outside India, in the political organization of their Empire.

In dealing with the subject, I have throughout kept in mind that a contribution to the materials necessary to a decision is more useful than deductions formulated on the basis of scanty material. Hence I have concerned myself more with marshalling facts and setting forth the conditions under which these facts are found than with formulating theories or passing judgements. The conclusions recorded at the end of each part of the work are only those which the study of the material contained in that part has yielded.

Originally it was intended to include the provincial administration also in this book and to add a chapter on Imperial Service, but, owing to the amount of the material which my study on the subject produced, and the volume the present work assumed, it was not found possible to include those topics here. They will, however, be published in two separate volumes following this work.

In the end I have to express my gratitude to my tutor, Sir Denison Ross, for the keen interest he has taken in the progress of my work, the useful suggestions he has offered at each stage, and the valuable time he has spent in going through every chapter. I have also to acknowledge with thanks the financial aid given by the University of London, and by the Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan), which have greatly facilitated the publication of this book.

THE SOURCES

THIS work is based entirely on original sources, most of which have not been utilized at all by any other writer on this subject. The material thus collected is supplemented by accounts of contemporary European travellers, and substantiated by historical facts scattered through thousands of pages of the annals of the period, many of which have not been translated into English.

The sources utilized can be divided into eight groups:

i. Chronicles of the period.
ii. Contemporary Persian works.
iii. Persian manuscripts on the various aspects of the administration of the Mughal Empire.
iv. Collections of letters and correspondence.
v. Biographies.
vi. Works on Political Theory by Muslim jurists and other writers.
vii. European travellers' records.
viii. Modern works.

I. The Chronicles

The Akbar Nāma

The *Akbar Nāma* of Abul Fazl forms the foundation of the study of Akbar's institutions. It is a mistake to begin with the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, as is generally done. The latter work embodies the result of the experiments made during the reign of Akbar and is a record of isolated facts. The spirit which led to the establishment of the institutions, the initial difficulties encountered in bringing them into existence, and the capacities of ministers who worked them and gave them final shape can only be fully understood after a patient, sustained and connected study of the

nearly 1,700 pages which the *Akbar Nāma* contains. Though the two works are distinct yet they are not unrelated. The two should be read together, for, as Mr. Moreland has rightly pointed out, 'neither tells us all we want to know, but nearly all is contained in one or the other'.

The *Akbar Nāma* is not only the most authentic history of Akbar's reign, but it is an accurate record of the varied activities of the state, in which its every phase is accurately and vividly brought out. The position of the author, his training in various administrative works, his personal touch with every important affair of the Empire, his access to all official papers, combined with his scholarship and his marvellous powers of expression, make both of his works invaluable. Mr. Blochmann says: 'Abul Fazl has far too often been accused by European writers of flattery and even of wilful concealment of facts damaging to the reputation of his master. A study, though perhaps not a hasty perusal, of the *Akbar Nāma* will show that the charge is absolutely unfounded. . . . His love of truth and his correctness of information are apparent on every page of the book . . .' (Introduction to the *Ā'īn*, p. vi).

Every author has his own style and peculiar method of expression, which can be grasped by a careful study of his works. Abul Fazl's style is at times certainly difficult, but when set phrases and expressions frequently occur their significance becomes clear and the difficulty disappears.

It is not difficult to see how he disapproves of Māham Anga's putting to death the two innocent girls who were in the possession of her son, Adham Khān, in Mālva, and whom she put to death lest they should speak out the truth to the king. Akbar overlooked the offence. Abul Fazl records the fact, and at once begins to praise the king's quality of forgiveness (be nāzam bar hausila-i-daryā āshām ke

. . . chunīn khatāhāi fāhish rā nā karda angārad, II. p. 143). The meaning is quite clear. There was no other way for the author to put this event on record, and he deserves the credit for doing so. Similarly he disapproves of Husain Mirzā's being put to death in Gujrāt after his defeat. It is definite that he was put to death by Akbar's orders. Abul Fazl cannot criticize him. Hence he adds that it was done on the suggestion of Rājā Bhagwān Dās, and he was not justified in recommending it.

Neither Mun'im Khān, Vakīl nor Rājā Todar Mal escapes his criticism. None was too high for him. His criticism of Muzzaffar Khān's policy in Bengal, and his putting the responsibility of the revolt upon provincial officials, and his ten arguments in support of his own views, not only prove his frankness, but his grasp of the real situation and his conception of responsible officers' duties in a distant province.

Similarly his criticism of Jahāngīr's action and his disapproval of his conduct towards the close of Akbar's reign proves his frankness and boldness as a chronicler.

The amount of material which the *Akbar Nāma* supplies regarding Akbar's institutions and their practical working will become clear from the perusal of the following chapters of this work.

The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* forms the third part of the *Akbar Nāma*. The nature of its contents is very lucidly described by Mr. Blochmann. 'In the *Ā'īn* we have a picture of Akbar's government in its several departments, and of its relations to the different ranks and mixed races of his subjects. . . . We have in the *Ā'īn* the governed classes brought to the foreground: men live and move before us, and the great questions of time, axioms then believed in and principles then followed, phantoms then chased after, ideas then prevailing, and successes then obtained, are placed before our eyes in truthful and

The *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*

therefore vivid colours' (Intro., p. v). However, it may be added that the study of the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, without the supplementary study of the *Akbar Nāma*, cannot yield the result expressed in Blochmann's words. The two should be read together concurrently.

The absence of Abul Fazl begins to be felt soon after his death, and one can at once notice the change in the latter part of the *Akbar Nāma*, which was written by 'Ināyatullah. There is neither that command of style nor that force in statement and boldness in criticism. However, it is the best authority for the last phase of Akbar's life and for the events of that period.

The *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*

It is only a fortunate accident that Jahāngīr took up the work of writing his memoirs, and left behind him a record of the greater part of his rule from his own pen. It forms the chief authority for his reign and personality. Full accounts of wars, of the motives that actuated them, the defeats of the royal armies in the Deccan, of the lack of unity among imperial generals, of their successive changes, their failings in their duties, are all fully furnished. From the administrative point of view, the work is invaluable. Jahāngīr at every stage of his rule, and on every important occasion, emphasized his desire to rule on the lines chalked out by Akbar, and he expresses a sort of pride in his father's achievements and in his own anxiety to follow him. All the administrative regulations of the reign are fully recorded. The incidents of the king's life, his daily routine, and all matters connected with his personality except a few incidents, are frankly and faithfully recorded. The faithfulness of his statements is fully impressed upon the reader who follows them step by step. The first fifteen years of Jahāngīr's reign were the best years of his life. The beginning of the sixteenth year marks the beginning of his

reverses, bad luck and ill-health. As these anxieties increase the memoirs become less and less descriptive, till at last the crisis arises, and Jahāngīr falls into the hands of Mahābat Khān, the touch of the emperor's pen disappears from the memoirs, and they cease to be written on his behalf. Those events were too humiliating to be recorded.

The memoirs are of immense value for the careers of the Empire's prominent ministers and officers, who are shown in their true colours, and the views expressed about them carry a weight which could not be attached to any other writer's views.

Another important contribution of the memoirs to the history of the period is the account of the king's tours to Ajmere, Mālva, Gujrāt, the Panjāb and Kashmīr. The account gives an idea of the different parts of the Empire, of provincial matters, and of the conditions of villages—subjects which seldom find place in the chronicles of kings.

The value of the memoirs for Jahāngīr's own life and personality is conspicuous from the perusal of every page. For this purpose the work has been fully utilized by Professor Benī Prasad in his book, *The History of Jahāngīr*. The material relating to his administration and its various phases has for the first time been utilized in this book, and critically examined in forming definite opinions about it.

The memoirs from Jahāngīr's pen continued till the sixteenth year, when the work was entrusted to Mu'tamad Khān Bakhshī on his return from the Deccan. He continued it till the nineteenth year in the name of the king, who supervised it. After the nineteenth year Mu'tamad Khān continued it in his own name, as a part of his independent work, *Iqbāl Nāma*. The memoirs have been completed and brought down to the close of the reign by Maulvī Muhammad Hādī, and the complete work was published by Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khān. Rogers'

translation is based upon this work, but the translation is carried up to the nineteenth year only.

The *Bādshāh Nāma*

Like Akbar, Shāh Jahān also took special care to have an authentic history of his reign compiled, and a regular staff was maintained for the purpose. The *Bādshāh Nāma*, written by Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, covers the history of the first twenty years of the reign. It is a voluminous work of about 1,600 pages, published in two volumes by the Asiatic Society of Bengal: none of this is as yet translated into English.

Another work on the same lines is found in '*Amal-i-Sālih*, by Muhammad Sālish Kambuh. Though it it is not so voluminous, yet the two volumes already published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which bring the narrative to the twentieth year of the reign, contain about 1,200 pages. The third part is not yet fully published. For the rest of the period I have used the British Museum MS. Add. 26,221, which is one of the most beautifully illustrated manuscripts in the Museum.

Thus Sālih's work in this manuscript is brought to the close of Shāh Jahān's reign, but the latter part of the work is very brief and gives very little information beyond the king's movements and important events of the reign. The study of the last five years of Shāh Jahān's rule cannot be complete without a reference to other contemporary sources of the period. Both the authors, Lāhorī and Sālih, were in government service, particularly employed for writing the work they produced. Though a complete history of the first twenty years is continued in the *Bādshāh Nāma*, yet Sālih has included it in his work. Lāhorī is more useful for detailed information than Sālih, though the latter surpasses him in his style and literary achievement. Both the works include a list of the high officers of the state, together with the poets and the scholars of the period.

The study of these sources yields ample material about Shāh Jahān's administration, and they form the chief sources of the history of the period; but their study further impresses upon the reader the value of Abul Fazl under Akbar. One feels the lack of his masterly description of the prevailing conditions, and of his bold criticism of the officers who held power and carried out the administration. However, Shāh Jahān's chroniclers are also minute observers of the events and forces of the time, and they give a full picture of the life of their monarch, whose part in the administration is as prominently brought out as that of Akbar in his time by his favourite chronicler.

The difference between the positions of Shāh Jahān's paid chroniclers and that of Abul Fazl is chiefly responsible for the lack of that frank and bold criticism of every high officer which is found in the *Akbar Nāma*.

II. Contemporary Persian Works

These chronicles are supplemented by the works of some eminent writers under each reign. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizām-ud-dīn, and the *Muntakhabāt-ul-Tavārīkh* of 'Abdul Qādir Badā'ūnī are most useful for Akbar's reign. Both the authors were, like Abul Fazl, connected with the government, and wrote about events which passed before their eyes and with which they were personally acquainted.

For the purposes of administrative affairs, I have found 'Abdul Qādir more useful than Nizām-ud-dīn. Badā'ūnī's work has been chiefly used for the religious controversy of Akbar's reign, which he has brought to the forefront in his work as the champion of the old orthodox Hanafī school, but the abundant material which he supplies on different branches of the administration has now been for the first time utilized in this work. In most cases he presents the other view

of the picture, and in certain cases also supplies useful details which are not recorded in the *Akbar Nāma*. The information he gives about the working of the department of the Chief Sadr is invaluable, and is not found in such detail in any other contemporary work. Though he himself belonged to the school of theologians, yet he is very frank in criticizing and condemning the representatives of that school when he thinks they were bringing discredit upon that class as a whole. Similarly, his criticism of high government officials supplements the work of Abul Fazl in this direction, and in certain cases serves as a corrective. For example, Abul Fazl is entirely silent about Khvāja Jahān's conduct in the administration under Mun'im Khān and Muzzaffar Khān, while Badā'ūnī openly condemns him for bribery and corruption. Abul Fazl speaks highly of Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī as an efficient officer who served in different capacities at different times, but in Badā'ūnī's work he appears an instrument of mischief in the hands of Akbar, who fully utilized him against the theologians. In other respects his statements are mostly corroborative, and his work on the whole is a very useful supplement to Abul Fazl's works, and a critical study of both of them greatly helps in forming definite views about important matters and personalities of the period.

Under Jahāngīr, the *Iqbāl Nāma* of Mu'tamad Khān is a very useful supplement. From the sixteenth year of the reign he was attached to the court and moved with the king, and wrote the memoirs for Jahāngīr up to the end of the nineteenth year, as noticed above, and till that year his work is more or less a summary of the memoirs with a few additions. He mentions I'timād-ud-Daula's removal from office and his imprisonment, in the fourth year of the reign, for his son's connexion with the conspiracy to release Prince Khusrau, for which he was executed, and

I'timād-ud-Daula was released after some time on the payment of a heavy fine. After the nineteenth year of the reign, when memoirs of Jahāngīr ceased to be written, Mu'tamad Khān is the only authority for the period. He was present in the royal camp as bakhshī when Mahābat Khān surprised Jahāngīr, and he took an active part in the efforts which were subsequently made to release the emperor. In this position he was also in touch with all the activities of Nūr Jahān and her influence in the administration. He is equally frank in criticizing Nūr Jahān and her brother, Āsaf Khān, who opposed her candidate to the throne. He brings a bold charge of corruption against I'timād-ud-Daula, and accuses his successor, Khvāja Abul Hasan, of bad temper (tursh-rūī).

Muhammad Hādī, who completed the memoirs, has mostly relied upon Mu'tamad Khān.

The *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī* supplies much useful information for the reign of Jahāngīr, but it helps little in matters directly connected with administration.

The *Zubdat-ut-Tavārīkh* of Tahawwur Khān (MS. Add. 100,580), gives very useful information about important events and complications connected with Jahāngīr's accession to the throne, and the part which Shaikh Farīd played in it as mīr bakhshī of the Empire.

Under Shāh Jahān much useful information about the affairs and the officers of the Empire is found in *Tārīkh-i-Shāh Jahānī*, by Sādiq Khān (MS. Or. 174). It contains 201 folios. The author himself occupied the high rank of six thousand Zāt and Savār. He is a very reliable authority for the latter part of the reign, in which Sālih is very brief. Sādiq Khān conducted the negotiations with Aurangzebe after his occupation of Āgra, on behalf of Shāh Jahān. The account closes with the end of his master's rule, and he says that the recording of the

events of the remaining eight years of the emperor's life, which he passed in imprisonment, is a disrespect to the master and disloyalty to the salt (tahrīr ān mahiz be adabī va namak harāmī ast).

Another contemporary writer, and the most useful authority for the period, is Chandra Bhān Brahman. His work, *Chahār Chaman*, from the point of view of its utility for the practical working of the administration of Shāh Jahān's reign, is second to the *Akbar Nāma* only. The author was officially connected with the four great Dīvāns who occupied the office for the greater part of the reign, and was on highly intimate terms with them. Under Sa'dulla Khān, and after him, he held charge of the draft of the farmāns, and in this position was in direct touch with the king as well. Throughout this reign he remained connected with the chief minister's department, in one capacity or the other, and thus none was more qualified than he to express views upon the internal administration of the chief department of the Empire, and none better acquainted with its details. He also occupied a distinguished position as a Persian scholar, and is included in the list of the prominent ones of the reign. In this respect the value of his writings for the purposes of this book surpasses that of the works of Lāhorī and Sālih, and he also gives an interesting and unique account of the lives and the views of the chief ministers with whom he worked and mixed. The importance of his work, both for the king's attention to work and the chief minister's share in the administration, will become clear from the perusal of the following chapters. (MS. 1,892. 236 folios.)

This work has not been utilized by any writer on Indian history in treating of the administration of the Mughal Empire. Another copy of the MS. is contained in the volume Add. 16,863, in the Miscellaneous Collection (Fs. 1–83). It bears the kātib's

name as Bishnāth Brahman Kashmīrī, who copied it under Shāh 'Ālam (1123 A.H.). *Tārīkh-i-Jām-i-Jahān Numa* contains a brief account of the author. He was removed from the dīvān's office under Aurangzebe and made the superintendent of the mausoleum of Queen Mumtāz Mahal, a befitting service for a loyal officer of Shāh Jahān (MS. Or. 2,059, F. 242).

The rest of the contemporary Persian histories are of minor importance, and they have been included in the Bibliography.

III. Persian Manuscripts on Administration

Another class of Persian works includes original manuscripts which deal with administrative regulations and other matters connected with the internal working of the various departments of the Empire. The most important of them are the following, which have helped a good deal in framing the internal working of the departments recorded in the following chapters.

MS. British Museum Add. 6,599, Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Aurangzebe. This contains a summary of the important administrative regulations and the procedure followed in the transaction of state business. It was prepared in the third year of Aurangzebe's reign. The regulations contained in this manuscript are more useful for provincial administration than for the central structure. However, the procedure followed in different kārkhānas and stores under the Mīr Sāmān is more fully given in this volume than in any other manuscript of this kind (Fs. 58–109).

Add. 6,598. Another copy of the same manuscript, with the same title. The importance of this volume lies in its second part, which is quite a different work not quoted in the catalogue (Fs. 129–208). It is marked on F. 129 as *Dastūr-ul-'Amal*, but it is a

copy of *Zavābit-i-'Ālamgīrī*, which forms a separate volume noted below.

Or. 1,641. This bears the title of *Zavābit*, as noted above, and is another summary of the regulations prepared in the thirty-fourth year of Aurangzebe's reign. This work is of much higher value than those noted above. It covers a greater field and gives more useful details connected with the departments of the central government. It contains 189 folios, as marked in Persian figures, which in most cases are different from the pencil-marked English figures. Of these, 67 folios deal with the regulations and the division of work among various officers in the departments of the dīvān, the mīr bakhshī and the mīr sāmān, together with the regulations governing the salaries of mansabdārs, including the changes made under Shāh Jahān. The routine of work followed by the prominent chief dīvāns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzebe is given on Fs. 89–97. The rest of the work contains the titles of princes and ministers under Shāh Jahān, revenue returns of provinces, distances between the capital and various important towns and outposts, and a summary of the important events of Aurangzebe's reign.

Add. 6,588. This can be divided into three parts: the first includes a summary of the revenue reforms of Akbar from the *Akbar Nāma* and Badā'ūnī, and revenue returns of provinces, including distances; the second records important sayings of Aurangzebe, together with certain important facts of Shāh Jahān's reign as related by Aurangzebe; and the third includes regulations mostly connected with account-keeping and the preparation of various sheets required for the dīvān's department. The third part covers Fs. 64–94, and the pen of the kātib of this portion is different from that of the first two.

Or. 1,690. Another copy of the *Dastūr-ul-'Amal*, of a much later date than those noted above. The

object of the writer appears to be to give a brief history of the Muslim kings of northern India rather than to give a summary of the regulations of the Mughal Empire. However, the portion dealing with Shāh Jahān's reign is very useful for brief sketches of the lives of ministers and secretaries of the reign. Like other dastūrs, it also includes a list of provinces and their revenue returns. It contains 197 folios.

Or. 2,011. An official manual for the guidance of the revenue officials, bearing the title of *Dīvān Pasand*, compiled by Chattar Mal. The author in his preface writes about his own practical experience in revenue administration. The work is divided into four parts and contains 214 pages. It includes the revenue regulations of the Mughals, which had become established in Northern India, and the author describes every part of this work in a very lucid style and explains all the technical terms, giving illustrations in each case. This manuscript does not appear to have been used by any writer of Indian history. I have fully utilized it for my purposes, but the work is more useful for the revenue and provincial administration of the Mughals.

Add. 6,585. Bearing the title *Tārīkh-i-Shākir Khānī*, written by Shākir Khān, the son of Shams-ud-Daula Lutfulla Khān Sādiq, in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. It is a contemporary history of that reign, and deals with the political conditions of the Empire at that time, but it incidentally supplies very useful information on administrative matters connected with previous reigns. It has references to events as late as the vikālat of Mun'im Khān under Akbar. It further shows the continuity of Akbar's institutions in all their essential details up to that period. Its value is much enhanced by the fact that it is from the pen of a man who sees everything

himself, feels the pitiable condition of the Empire and condemns the existing state of affairs. All the relevant material for the period covered by this work has been incorporated in its proper place in the following chapters.

Add. 22,831. This contains an account of the subas, sarkārs and mahāls with historical notices, and will be found very useful for provincial administration. It bears the title of *Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Shāhanshāhī*, compiled by Munshī Thākur Lāl about 1140 A.H., but the appendix contains the chronology of the Mughal emperors up to 1192 A.H.

Add. 6,586. Part IV contains an account of the administration of Bengal from Akbar's time to the governorship of Shujā-ud-Daula.

Or. 1,813. Mir'āt-ul-Istilāh. The greater part of the manuscript contains explanations of poetical terms and literary phrases by Anand Rām Mukhlis, but folios 26–43 give useful facts about administration. They contain the rules and regulations governing the salaries and mansabs of the officers, and rules for conferring titles, and an account of the position of the vakīl of the Empire.

Or. 2,026 is another copy of the *Dastūr-ul-'Amal*, written after the reign of Aurangzebe.

Or. 1,906. This contains the list of various grades of ranks and salaries of mansabdārs in a tabular form, prepared by Najaf 'Alī Khān. It bears the title of *Sharah-i-Manāsib*, and gives useful facts on the topic with which it is concerned.

Add. 6 603. Fs. 40–84. Contains a glossary of technical terms used in the collection of revenue, compiled, for the use of English officials under the East India Company, by Khvāja Yāsīn.

Add. 7,689 (*Inshā'*) *and Add. 9,697* (*Fs. 1–16*). Contain forms of official documents, civil contracts and of letters to persons of various classes.

Both of them are very useful in determining the duties of officers and understanding the nature of their work.

Add. 6,580. Mir'āt-i-Ahmadī, by 'Alī Muhammad Khān. A connected history of the province of Gujrāt up to the defeat of the Mahrattas at Pānīpat (1174 A.H.). The author was appointed dīvān of Gujrāt towards the close of the reign of Muhammad Shāh, but from the age of eight or nine he had lived at Burhānpur, and had been taking historical notes of passing events and collecting historical information from trustworthy persons. The work is a voluminous one and contains 460 folios. For the purpose of this book its importance consists in the fact that the author has, as far as possible, included in his work the copies of the farmāns sent under different reigns to that province. These deal with various topics and show the hand of the central government in the internal working of a distant province. Secondly, the author deals with the internal administration of the province in such detail as is found nowhere else. I have fully utilized this and I feel that it is invaluable on the subject of provincial administration, and also for understanding how rapidly the institutions collapsed after Aurangzebe. The decay of the province of Gujrāt in the author's own time is also very lucidly explained. The last portion of the work gives a very clear idea of the administration of a provincial town under the Mughals.

A portion of it has been translated into English, under the title of *Political and Statistical History of Gujrāt*, by James Bird, but not enough even to give an idea of the value of the work and of the abundant material it contains.

It may be noted that this list does not include the manuscripts of minor importance utilized for this work, and that only the first four of these have been used by E. Thomas, for figures of revenue returns of

the provinces, in his work, *The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, and one (Or. 1813) besides them, by Mr. Irvine, for *The Army of the Mughals*. Professor Sarkar has used only one (Or. 1,641) for *The Mughal Administration*, as he says in his work under 'Sources' (pp. 43 and 44).

IV. Letters

Another source of information is found in the collections of letters of the period. I have found the following useful for my purpose in several respects.

Egerton 695. Latīfa-i-Faizī. Letters of Faizī, collected and edited by his own cousin, Nūr-ud-Dīn.

Add. 6,548. Mukātabāt-i-'Allāmī Abul Fazl. Edited by Abd-ul-Samad Afzal Muhammad.

Add. 16,863. Pt. II. Fs. 84–103. Also contains extracts from Abul Fazl's letters.

The letters of both of these brothers, apart from their utility otherwise, are very useful for the relations of the Empire with the Deccan states, the condition of the country they travelled through, and for the literary atmosphere of Akbar's court. The India Office Library, No. 283, contains a glossary to Abul Fazl's letters.

Add. 26,141. Inshā'-i-Brahman, by the author of the *Chahār Chaman*, noted above. This collection contains petitions addressed by the author to Shāh Jahān, and letters written to ministers and secretaries with whom he was intimately connected. The relevant matter contained in these letters has been included by the author in the *Chahār Chaman* also. The rest enables the reader to form an idea of the relations of the high officials among themselves, and of their social gatherings, and of the literary atmosphere of their society.

Or. 178. Bahār-i-Sukhan. A collection of letters and prose compositions of Muhammad Sālih Kambuh, the chronicler of Shāh Jahān.

Or. 177 and 18,881. A collection of letters of Aurangzebe. These also contain letters addressed by Aurangzebe, before and after his accession, to Shāh Jahān.

Add. 16,859. 'Arzdāsht. This contains a collection of letters of Muzzaffar Khān Jahān addressed to Shāh Jahān, and the replies received from the emperor. This is a very useful collection for the period it covers of Shāh Jahān's reign. In one of his letters he openly criticizes Shāh Jahān for distrusting the officers deputed to provinces and points to it as a chief cause for the lack of unity among such officers. In another he criticizes, with equal frankness, his own appointment to the command of an expedition. The author was an old man at that time, and held the post of Governor of Gwāliār and had had a military career. The latter portion of the volume contains letters written to and received by him from his friends, including some zamīndārs. In this connexion the letters of one of his friends, who was a mīr 'adl, supply very useful information about certain judicial cases he had to deal with.

V. Biographies

These form another class of material, and supply additional information, connected with the lives of chief officers and amīrs, and their relations with the king and the various activities of their lives, which are not found in other contemporary works.

Maāsir-ul-Umarā is the well-known published work of Samsām-ud-Daula, which gives the lives of the nobles and officers of the Mughal Empire in three volumes. The chief defect in the work is that it contains no references and no source of information. In order to overcome this difficulty, I myself prepared the biographies I needed for my purpose from the original sources I had in my study, but in the end I found that the *Maāsir* was indispensable,

as it contains much which is not found in the material now available, a fact which conclusively shows that many of the authorities on which the author worked have perished since then.

MS. Or. 233. Irshād-ul-Vuzarā by Sadr-ul-Dīn Muhammad. It contains short biographical notices of Muslim vazīrs. Folios 64 and 65 deal with some of the prominent ones of the Mughal Empire. The author is usually very sarcastic in his remarks. The work bears no date, but we know that the author's father, Zabar Dast Khān, was a sūbedār of Oudh under Aurangzebe.

MS. Add. 16,703. Tazkirat-ul-Umarā, by Keval Rām. It also contains short biographical notices on the amīrs of the Empire, and extends till the end of Aurangzebe's reign. The work is divided into two parts, which deal with Muslim and Hindū amīrs separately. The names are arranged according to their rank. It is very useful for tracing the successive promotions of officers and the various duties entrusted to them at different times. The latter portion contains short notices on miscellaneous topics.

MS. Or. 203. The celebrated work, *Haft Iqlīm*, of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, completed under Akbar, contains a large collection of biographical notices geographically arranged.

Add. 16,863. Chahār Chaman, by Brahman, of Shāh Jahān's time, noted above, also contains useful biographies of the ministers of the reign.

VI. Works on Political Theory

The following works have been consulted for those theoretical portions of the work which deal with the duties of kings and vazīrs.

MS. Or. 253. Sulūk-ul-Mulūk. A treatise on the mode of governing in accordance with the Islāmic Law. This is the most useful work on this subject. The author, Fazl bin Rozebahān Isfahānī, belonged

to the Hanafī school. He has dealt with every part of the structure of an Islāmic state, and summarized the views of all leading Muslim jurists on every topic. The work is divided into 15 chapters and contains about 200 pages. The author fully utilizes Al-Māvadī's work, *Ahkām-i-Sultāniya.*

Add. 7,618. Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk. Another work on the same subject, by 'Alī bin Shahāb Hamlānī. It contains ten chapters, of which the fifth and sixth deal with the duties of kings, the rights of subjects, and the conception of khilāfat. The work appears to have been written in the eighth century A.H.

Or. 254. Sulūk-ul-Saltanat (Art of Government), by Ghazzālī. It is a translation from the original manuscript of the eighth century A.H. It contains 71 pages.

Or. 256. Reputed nasā'ih of Khvāja Nizām-ul-Mulk to his son, Fakhr-ul-Mulk, on the duties of a vazīr.

Or. 1,920. Āsār-ul-Vuzarā. Lives of celebrated vazīrs of different Muslim kingdoms, brought down to Tīmūr and his immediate successors. The work contains very useful material, and includes the sayings of the vazīrs based upon their experience.

Ādāb-i-Saltanat va vizārat. An anonymous work dealing with the duties of kings and ministers, supposed to have been written in the tenth or eleventh century A.D. It has been published and edited in French by Ch. Scheffer, Paris (1883).

Ahkām-i-Sultāniya. A work in Arabic on the art of government by the well-known Muslim jurist, Al-Māvardī. I have used the French translation of the work, as no English translation exists.

Muqadma-i-Tārīkh-i-Ibn-i-Khaldūn. Another famous work on the subject in Arabic, which also has not yet been translated into English. It has been translated into French and Urdū. The work is very useful for the study of the different

branches of the administration in various Muslim kingdoms.

Siyāsat Nāma by Nizām-ul-Mulk, the famous vazīr of Alp Arsalān and Malak Shāh, under whom he held the office for 30 years. The work is published in Persian. (MS. Add. 23,516.)

VII. European Travellers' Records

These form a very useful source of information and serve the purpose both of corroboration and correction. Their accounts of kings and the court, and of towns and cities they visited, and the high officials with whom they came in contact, are very useful, and in such matters they supply additional information also; but as far as the administrative system of the country is concerned they neither show correct knowledge nor add any useful material to its study. Even an acute observer like Father Monserrate says that jāgīrs were hereditary and that Abul Fazl was the prime minister (pp. 54 and 89). I have fully utilized the accounts of the following:

Father Monserrate	under	Akbar,	1580–1582.
Hawkins	,,	Jahāngīr,	1609–1611 at Āgra.
Finch	,,	,,	1610 ,,
Finch	,,	,,	1611 at Lāhore.
Sir Thomas Roe	,,	,,	1615–1618 at Ajmere and Gujrāt.
Edward Terry	,,	,,	1616–1619.
De Laet (work based on the accounts of the travellers of this period)	,,	,,	1625.
Pelsaert	,,	,,	1622–1627 at Āgra.

Bernier. Close of Shāh Jahān's reign, 1658, at Ahmadābād and Shāh Jahānābād.

Of these, Father Monserrate is the most useful authority. He is an acute observer and an accurate writer, fond of details and precision. Except for matters connected with the religion either of the

Hindūs or Muslims, in which his views are obviously prejudiced, he is very reliable in all that he records from his personal observation. His friendly relations with Abul Fazl, whom he mentions on several occasions, appear to be responsible for useful information on several points. His descriptions of Akbar's councils, of his method of deliberation, of the discussions held during his stay, of his method of administering justice and of the award of punishments in criminal cases, are very useful contributions to the study of the period. In several other matters his work gave me certain useful suggestions, which I could follow and substantiate with historical facts.

Next to him is the work of De Laet, which can very profitably be utilized for certain aspects of the administration. Sir Thomas Roe supplies very little information besides matters connected with the court. Terry is on the whole not very reliable, and it is not very safe to accept any of his versions which are not corroborated by any other contemporary writer. Sir William Foster has pointed out the sources of his information in his introduction to his account, which, among others, include the gossips of Sūrat. Pelsaert's method of criticism and the trend of his arguments take away much of the value of his account. Bernier is an intelligent observer, but he judges everything in the light of the conditions of France, and tries to prove them better than everything Indian.

However, these accounts supply very useful information, which has been fully utilized and incorporated in this work after critical examination.

VIII. Modern Works

Historical works of modern writers on this period of the history of the Mughals have also been utilized, and in order to avoid repetition they have been noted in the Bibliography only.

It may also be pointed out that the portion of the introduction which deals with the Delhī sultanate, and all references that have been made elsewhere to the administration of the Delhī sultāns, are entirely based on original sources of that period, of which the following may be mentioned:—(1) *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*; (2) *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, by Barnī; (3) Another work of the same name, by Sirāj 'Afīf; (4) *Tārīkh-i-mubārak Shāhī*; and (5) *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*.

GEOGRAPHY AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT

OUTLINE

Geography: and nature of its influence.

Geographical divisions of India.

Northern India: its boundaries—the Himālayas—the Plains—the Vindhyās.

Influence of the Himālayas:

1. Protection on a long line of defence.
2. Contact with Central Asia through its passes and the nature of that contact.
3. Supply of rivers and rains to the plains.

Characteristics of the plains: vast, flat, alluvial, fertile.

Influence of mountains and plains upon the people's occupation, habits, activities and general outlook.

Effect upon the form and character of the Government.

Conditions favourable to the growth of monarchy.

Monarchy becomes a political necessity.

The character and type of monarchy.

The activities of the government determined by geography.

Its functions as established by geography and tradition.

The effect of the Vindhyās and the policy of aggression.

Conclusions.

NO one will deny, however firmly he may believe in free will, that the destinies of men are to a large extent determined by environment. Among the many influences covered by this term, the most powerful are the geographical.

Nature of influence

Geographical facts influence the course of history. Climate determines man's food and other wants. The physical features of the earth, sea and mountains fix the occupation of the people inhabiting a particular area. The aspect of nature about them colours and suggests their ideas and beliefs. The possession of a sea-coast with satisfactory harbours, and the protecting or isolating influence of frontiers, determine their character, their activities, the extent of their intercourse with other nations, and, therefore, the extent of the influences exerted by foreign ideas.

History is thus unintelligible without reference to geography. To arrive at a full understanding of the history of a country, the character of its people, the growth of its institutions and civilization, it is necessary to prepare the background of geography and fully realize it before attempting any description or formulation of any kind.

'In no country in the world has geographical position, relatively to surrounding continents and seas, shaped the history and the destinies of the people more surely than in India.'[1]

India is geographically and historically divided into three parts. Northern India, between the Himālayas and the Vindhyās; the Deccan plateau, lying to the south of the Narbada as far as the

[1] Holdich, Sir T. H., *India* (*The Regions of the World*, 1904), p. 1.

Krishnā and the Tungabhadra; and the far south, beyond these rivers.

Northern India

The first of these divisions, the Āryāvarta of the Vedic Age and the Hindustān of later times, is the part of the country with which the subject of this work is mainly concerned. The plain of Northern India lies between the sub-Himālayas and the Vindhyās, and from the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra on the east to that of the Indus on the west.

The Himālayas

The Himālayas not only form a double wall along the long frontier of Northern India, but at their western and eastern extremities send out ranges to the south, which protect its north-eastern and north-western frontiers.[1]

The main wall is pierced at the north-western corner, where it strikes southward from the Himālayas by an opening through which the Kābul river flows into India. This contains the famous passes through which India's contact has been maintained with Central Asia. Except in this quarter, the Himālayas have in all ages given protection to India on their whole extent. But the exception is a great one, and it is through these passes that Northern India has received its invaders.

The ancient and medieval history of Northern India is based principally on two geographical facts: the one that the north-western barrier is not complete, and the other that, when once an invader crosses the passes, he finds no physical barriers to check his advance.

The fertile valley and the open plains, with all the lavish gifts of nature on the one side, and the hilly tracts and cold climate and soil less favoured by nature on the other, at once suggest the relations of

[1] On the north-east against the wild tribes of Upper Burma; on the north-west the mountains run down the entire length of the western line of the plain to the sea.

the people of the plains and the hillmen of the north. Where the barren mountains and rich lowlands adjoin, it is the same old story:

> The mountain sheep are sweeter,
> But the valley sheep are fatter;
> We therefore deemed it meeter
> To carry off the latter.

It is this opening and this contrast which attracted foreigners. It brought in the Vedic tribes, who gave the 'race type' to Indian civilization, and the Greeks, who left an impress on Indian art. It led to the advance of the Scythians and finally to the Muslim invasions and the introduction of an element no less potent than the Aryan. To these, India owes all its culture and past civilization and no less all its complications.

Thus from historical and administrative points of view the Himālayas are both an advantage and a disadvantage. Their position determines the activities of the government and the people of the country. They are neither immune from external danger nor always exposed to it on its long line of defence.

Mountains are of importance in all countries, but in India they dominate the economic life of the country and even influence the methods of administration. 'To her mountain ranges, India owes her rivers and streams, the distribution of her water supply, and in great measure of her rains, the varying fertility of her soils, the method of land-tenure and cultivation, the distribution and relative comfort of her population.'[1]

The plains

Below these mountain ranges lies the wide plain, stretching with an unbroken surface for some 1,700 miles west to east, watered by three great river systems: the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. The mountains and rivers, thus combined,

[1] Chailley, Joseph, *Administrative Problems of British India*, 1910, p. 4. Also Strachey, Sir John, *India; Its Administration and Progress*, p. 31.

make the flat and level area of this part of the country extremely fertile.

Effects upon people's habits and character

The fertility of the soil determines the occupation of the people and thus makes it predominantly agricultural. The occupation of agriculture draws the population to rural areas, and, thus scattering it into villages and attaching it to the land, it moulds their habits and character.

Agriculture, above all occupations, creates a sort of conservatism and an aversion from adventure and enterprise, and, where the soil yields sufficient food without much hard labour, it creates a sort of contentment as well.

The tropical climate, requiring little shelter against the ravages of nature, limits people's wants and simplifies their life.

The fixity of the population, its attachment to the land and dependence upon it, lead it to avoid all risks and dangers that might interfere with its peaceful pursuits. Thus the cultivator becomes peaceful by habit, by profession and by interest. He will be slow to go to war. He would avoid conflict and clash at every stage of his life; but at the same time he would always be willing to cast in his lot with a strong hand likely to secure peace in the country when none exists.

This tendency explains why strong foreign invaders, who showed capacity and readiness to free the land from rival local claimants and to establish peace and security in the country, have uniformly succeeded in establishing their sway over the whole of Northern India without much difficulty or resistance from the people at large. It also accounts for the rapidity with which weak governments and dynasties have disappeared in this area.

The plain of Northern India is vast. It is alluvial and fertile. It has no high hills, no impassable barriers hindering the movements of the people or

Effect upon the form and character of the government

preventing an army from moving freely.[1] These features condition the political divisions of the country. The establishment of power at one centre would always enable the holder of that power to carry its arms farther and farther in proportion to its strength, and to complete the subjugation of the entire plain.

The vastness of the area to be conquered from one centre, and the danger of dividing the energies into different directions, tempts the conqueror to accept the acquiescence of the local chiefs and rulers readily offered at his advance. Thus in every direction a large number of such semi-independent chiefs and rulers are allowed to exist and maintain their power and local influence. This explains the existence of military chiefs in Northern India at every stage of its history, and particularly under the Muslim rule.

The entire plain thus brought under the direct power or influence of one central government requires sufficient military strength to maintain it, and the need of military strength is constantly felt and emphasized by external danger and internal fear, justified by the existence of military chiefs ever ready to take advantage of a central government's weakness or mistakes.

These conditions decide that the central government or the chief power in the country must necessarily tend to be military in form, and highly energetic and vigilant in character.

Weakness of the military power and slackness on the part of the government at once lead to disintegration, distant parts of the kingdom fall off one by one, and thus the power and the prestige of the centre are reduced at each stage. The vastness of the country does not allow the weak government to make

[1] For the characteristics of the plain, see the famous and often quoted words of Richard Strachey, *Ency. Brit.*, Article on Asia.

its force felt in distant quarters. The ample resources, combined with this vastness, facilitate the carving out of every component part into an independent kingdom or small principality. The process ultimately leads to the condition which justified the remark that 'every head becomes a chief and every door a darbār' (har sar-i-sardār-i-har dar-i-darbār-i).

The peace and security afforded to the people of each of the newly formed kingdoms under its strong founder are soon destroyed by mutual conflicts and wars of aggression. The country is gradually thrown into confusion, till at last some one of the rival claimants is able to prove himself stronger than the rest, establish peace and claim the allegiance of the millions, or some foreign invader appears and takes their place. Thus the history of Northern India is the history of the struggle of these centripetal and centrifugal forces. 'The unifying idea has struggled unceasingly with the deeply rooted tendency towards disruption, and hence empires of greater or smaller duration and extent have alternated with a bewildering maze of petty states.'[1] The empires of Asoka and Harsha and their natural fate, the establishment of the sultanate of Delhī following the same course in its rise and fall, succeeded by the Empire of the Mughals with the same fate, are positive proofs of these forces, which were the result of the geographical conditions of the country. They continued to exist till in the modern age victory was achieved over nature.

Thus geographical conditions, on the one hand, determined the profession, the scope and nature of the activities of the people, and, on the other, created difficulties in their peaceful pursuit. Hence the ever-pressing need of peace and the difficulty of maintaining it are the chief factors which have led absolute powers to ensure it. Protection becomes the

[1] Ghoshal, p. 1.

chief motive in the establishment of monarchies, and, in consequence, gives the monarch his chief duty. This is the main theme of all the ancient political writers of the Hindūs, and the chief problem with the monarch in every age. This protection was so much esteemed that the kingly duty in the *Mahābhārata* 'was held to be equivalent in moral values to the duties of the four castes and the four orders put together'.[1] 'A kingless state is overcome by robbers, their [people's] virtue does not become settled, and the people devour one another.'[2] The two 'rob the one, and many others rob the two, he that is not a slave is made a slave'.[3] The importance of this function is further emphasized by exhorting the people to take up arms in self-defence 'when the king's power wanes, and the social order vanishes', and in the last resort to submit to anyone, 'even a Sudra who saves society from anarchy'.

Monarchy a necessity

Monarchy was a political necessity and accordingly was supported by the social organization of the Hindūs. The division of society into four castes, and their dependence upon one another, prevented any one class from acquiring such power as to dominate the rest and oust the monarch. On the other hand, caste, dividing society into water-tight compartments, eliminated the chance of the coming of democracy, which requires at the outset the equality of all.[4] The vastness of the country, the problem of distance, the dispersal of the population into rural areas, left no scope for representative institutions or for that spirit and activity which

[1] Ghoshal, p. 6; see also Benī Prasad, pp. 26–7, for the character of kingship.

[2] Ghoshal, p. 120.

[3] ibid., p. 121.

[4] 'The principle of caste is the negation of the dignity of man as man.'—Benī Prasad, p. 11.

creates demands for them. Thus monarchy became the rule in Northern India.

Similarity of geographical conditions and uniformity of occupation created uniform habits, needs, customs, beliefs, and ideas. Fixity of life and unchanging conditions of the normal routine of life gave those habits and customs the force of tradition, and those traditions acquired a rigidity with which no power could interfere.

The religion of the Hindūs also affected their outlook, being bound up with their life from birth to death. Thus religion and customs in course of time acquired the status of a rigid constitution. No interference of any kind was possible or desirable. Thus *Protection* and *Toleration* became the primary duties of a sovereign.

The activities of the government determined by geography

The duty of protection and the difficulties associated with it determined the military character of the government. The predominance of agriculture and the engagement of nearly ninety per cent of the population in it made the government depend for its revenues upon the rent of land. Thus the maintenance of, or the provision for, large armies and the collection of revenue became its most important functions. The level plains, and the navigable rivers afforded facilities for internal trade. The north-western passes connecting the country with Central Asia, and the western and eastern openings to the sea provided scope for commercial relations with other countries. This required the attention of the government, and created the necessity for good roads, safety in transit, and patronage for home industry and art.

The fertile area watered by rivers was bound to become thickly populated and the chief centre for different occupations and activities and the centre of governmental machinery, and to attract attention more than the less fertile and thinly populated areas. Thus the Panjāb, the Doāb, and the Brahmaputra

valley naturally became more conspicuous in history than the rugged and hilly areas of Baluchistān and Orissa or sandy Sindh.

The hillmen, on the other hand, by the nature of their position and the military art of the age, were bound to be more troublesome than the peaceful people of the plains. The chiefs in these areas were sure to be turbulent and a constant source of trouble to the government, and, on the whole, a menace to the peace of the country.

The distant provinces, as those of Bengāl, Behār or Gujrāt, possessing ample resources of resistance and having the advantage of distance, would present another difficulty to the government. They would be a source of strength to a strong government and a menace to a weak one.

The effect of the Vindhyās

The Vindhyās, forming the southern boundary of the plains, enabled the government to act freely and efficiently without any serious danger of invasion from that quarter, but the defence was not complete, the north not being wholly cut off from the south. They prevented easy intercourse between the two parts of the country, but the passes were open to well-equipped adventurers. Hence even when a government in the north was able to cope with its own difficulties and succeeded in establishing peace in the plains, it always fell an easy prey to the temptation offered by the nature of the Vindhyā hills. This fact explains another feature of government's activity, and the history of the wars and invasions of the Deccan. It placed an ideal of conquest before every monarch. It created a spirit of aggression, and still more emphasized the military character of the government. It led to heavy taxation, and ultimately affected the efficiency of political institutions.

Conclusions

These are the geographical forces which have directed the course of the history of Northern India,

and the ancient and medieval monarchies uniformly followed the same course. A king who was able to surmount the initial difficulties, establish peace and security, and afford facilities for the peaceful pursuit of agriculture, trade and commerce, and who maintained a paternal attitude towards the priest and the peasant, established the Golden Age in this land of rivers and mountains.

Nothing more is expected of the king and the government. No further endeavour and no further enterprise for the amelioration of the people is required of him. He establishes these conditions and leaves his subjects to follow their own ways of simplicity, happiness and contentment. He receives their implicit obedience, which political necessity, their profession, their daily life, their interest and their religion emphasized.

Thus monarchy is established, fully equipped with military strength and absolute political powers necessary for a definite object. People at large acquiesce in it, and support it as long as that object is fulfilled. When the king fails in his duty, by his tyranny or negligence, he loses justification for holding that power. A process of disintegration follows in which the people take an active part until at last one appears on the scene able to save the country from chaos, and thus the circle moves.

Such were the forces and such were the conditions which moulded the history of Northern India and shaped its institutions.

THREE CENTURIES OF MUSLIM RULE

Its Experiments and Lessons

Political conditions

THE glory of the rule of Chandragupta, Asoka, and Harsha, which gave Northern India a unity unparalleled in its history, had become dim by the latter half of the seventh century A.D. The unity disappeared with the power that had created it. The disintegrating forces began to take a normal course, and the country became divided into numerous states, big and small. Their boundaries were determined by their military power, and their aggressions were checked only by the power of their rivals. The existence of such independent states, with no higher ideals to be maintained or preserved, begot mutual jealousies and rivalries, leading to perpetual warfare. The geographical features of the plains on which they played their part and planned their future activities facilitated their task, and encouraged them in their ever-increasing ambitions.

The four centuries preceding Muslim rule 'were a period of small and historically obscure states'.[1] 'The condition of India at this time resembled that of Germany at the end of the eighteenth century . . . the Rajput kingly families fell, as the Germanic states severally fell before Napoleon. But while Germany was never finally conquered and subjected to foreign domination, Northern India was laid prostrate for all time.'[2]

The causes that led to this situation are obvious from the political and social conditions of the Hindūs

[1] Benī Prasad, p. 305.

[2] Vaidya, C.V., *Downfall of Hindū India*, pp. 362–3.

at that time. The aspirations of the Rājpūt princes to be called chakravartin,[1] and their consequent rivalries and wars, divided their energies and left no possibility of common and united action by the ruling monarchs. The rigidity of caste divided society into further smaller groups. It created aloofness, and left no scope for common interest among them. It reduced the fighting strength of the population, and finally checked the creation of national sentiment. 'Lastly, the Hindū state, parochial, short-sighted and isolated from the rest of the world, failed to keep abreast of the times and to organize the resources of the country against successive foreign invasions. At last, in the thirteenth century, it shipwrecked in the storms it was incapable of weathering.'[2]

The sultanate

The establishment of the sultanate as an independent power created a new element in Northern India, and entirely changed the course of its politics. The new kingdom, with its foreign army and foreign aristocracy, had its own peculiar difficulties. But with all the differences of religion, race, culture and language, the new rulers had two things in common with the people of the Āryāvarta.

Two factors

The first was the desire to establish peace, overcome the disintegrating forces and create a sort of political unity which might guarantee the security of the country from foreign invasion and local warring elements—a work which the Rājpūt chiefs had failed to accomplish. This object could not be achieved without the subjugation of the whole of Northern India. The common interest of the rulers with the people gave the Delhī sultāns, on the one hand, considerable facilities in overcoming the selfish princes and chiefs who had

[1] op. cit., p. 8: 'He who conquers the country from Kumārīpura to Bindusra lake is called chakravartin.'

[2] Benī Prasad, p. 513.

perpetuated warfare in the country, and, on the other, led them to change their attitude and notions, racial or religious, in their treatment of their Hindū subjects. Mr. Vaidya, in discussing the causes of the fall of the Hindū state, reaches the same conclusion, though from a different line of argument. '. . . The people as a whole took no interest in the national struggle, and without demur offered their submission to the foreign yoke, especially because . . . the Mohammedan rulers did not adopt any coercive measure for the spread of their religion.'[1]

Peace and one political power in the country

The work of peace was accomplished by Shams-ud-dīn-Iltutmish and Balban. The former put an end to the rival claims of his co-religionists and completed the conquest of Āryāvarta, while the latter consolidated the new power and put an end to the activities of the local chiefs of every type. Both of them created a power which justified its existence, gave the country and the people peace and security, and taught them to respect one power and to look to it alone in times of danger.

The second feature common to the rulers and the people was that they believed in monarchy. Like the Hindūs, the rulers had their own religious law, which set certain limits on the autocratic powers of a despotic monarch. The difficulty of securing and maintaining peace under the peculiar conditions of Northern India gave the monarch absolute powers to deal with the subversive elements, and led the people to acquiesce in it as a necessary evil. Whether the sanction to such a power was religious, or derived from the divine nature of kingship, or from the commands of God to believers, or a political necessity, the result remained the same. Both the new rulers and the people of the country were familiar with this necessity, and both had practical experience in their respective spheres.

[1] Vaidya, C. V., op. cit., p. 365.

Three dangers to the sultanate

The sultanate had to safeguard itself principally against three dangers. First, against foreign invasion from the north-west—the doors were open, the example was set by the conquerors themselves. Secondly, against the ambitions and adventures of the ruling section itself. Every one of those who surrounded the king was equally entitled to acquire the throne by the force of arms. It was within the reach of all. Anyone possessed of a little courage, unscrupulousness and tact was sure to get some support and encouragement to hazard the risk. Thirdly, against local powers and various elements, which could combine at any time against the newly established power. They were always prepared to take advantage of the weakness and difficulties of the ruling class.

These dangers, combined with the peculiar conditions of the country and needs of the people, made the government rely upon military strength and keep the members of the ruling section attached to it, either through fear or favour, and give the minimum chance of resistance or provocation to the people.

Policy

Thus military strength, unity at the centre, and non-interference with the affairs of the people formed the three guiding principles of the sultanate. Its history is the record of its experiments, efforts and struggles to achieve these objects.

First experiment

These experiments were three. The first, which Shams-ud-dīn made, consisted in the division of the kingdom into several parts, and their allotment to different amīrs. This award of land carried with it feudal duties and rights. Besides the division of the country among military chiefs, which created in them an interest in the security of the kingdom, and established military outposts to keep the local warlike elements within control, Shams-ud-dīn also created a body of loyal supporters to the throne and kept it at the centre. It was intended as a check

upon the powers and ambitions of the military chiefs, who divided the resources of the country and the army among themselves. This body of loyalists is known in history as 'The Forty'.

It was a very useful device, and it worked very well under the Slave dynasty. It gave full support to the dynasty, and, in spite of the weakness of Shams-ud-dīn's successors, the throne remained in his family. The changes were made in the interest of the kingdom and the throne, and weak and worthless kings were always replaced by stronger and more capable ones.[1] The experiment limited the ambitions of the Muslim element of the kingdom to a very small group, and a tradition of dynastic rule was established.

But the success of the device and the experiment depended upon the unity of the party at the court, together with the provincial military chiefs. This became impossible, and the domination of the Forty was later on resented and opposed by other sections of the ruling class.[2]

The struggle continued till Balban came to power under Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn. He was one of the Forty. He not only overcame the disintegrating forces, but dominated the king as well. As Barnī says: 'Sultān rā namūna mī dāsht va Pādshāhī Khud mī rānd.'[3] (He kept the sultān a puppet and himself exercised royal powers.) He went entirely against the policy of Shams-ud-dīn, and regarded the powerful party at the court as a source of danger to the throne, and during his long term of office, both as the nāib (deputy) of the kingdom and as king, he gradually eliminated the party, and no group was left in the kingdom which could dictate to the king or make him yield if necessary.

[1] For such changes, see *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 182, 185, 191, 194, 197, 201.

[2] For the effect of its domination, see Barnī, pp. 25–6.

[3] ibid., p. 27.

Balban believed in dynastic rule and crushed the party to safeguard the interests of his dynasty, but by doing so he did away with the only power which could support the throne in times of danger and preserve it under weak and inefficient rulers. The step proved fatal, and his dynasty disappeared within five years of his death.[1]

The accession of Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī to the throne, and the manner in which it was brought about, gave a blow to the dynastic tradition. The murder of Jalāl-ud-dīn and the accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī introduced the element of force. Though he tried to justify his action by his efficient rule and good administration, and did certainly raise the prestige of the throne he occupied, yet the damage he had done to the sultanate could not be undone. The example he set was followed by his own relations in his own lifetime.[2] His own favourite nāib made a bold though an unsuccessful attempt to set aside his sons. Malik Khusrau, the deputy of his son, Mubārak Shāh, followed the same path, and did away with his master and ascended the throne. Though he could not maintain it, yet his activities completed the ruin of the Khaljī dynasty, and the Tughluqs took their place. Thus the tradition of the dynastic rule established under the Slave dynasty was finally set aside, and thereafter no respect was shown to it. The attempts of Malik Kāfūr and the success of Malik Khusrau dealt a blow to the tradition of racial superiority as well. The successive changes of dynasties during the rest of the period of the sultanate, together with the wars of the amīrs to secure it for

[1] See Barnī, *Balban's Work*, p. 123. He was regarded as champion of the weak after his death. See also pp. 137, 138, 151, 171. 'Not more than three years have elapsed since his [Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī's] death . . . and I do not see in this assembly more than three or four faces of his courtiers' (p. 179).

[2] Barnī, p. 282. Ākat Khān, Malik 'Umar, and Malik Mangū.

themselves, were the result of the tendency which Shams-ud-dīn had intended to check by his device.

The second part of Shams-ud-dīn's policy of leaving wide powers and retaining the prestige of local military chiefs was actively opposed by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. His administrative reforms, his resumption of fiefs, the creation of a standing army, the system of espionage, were all directed towards the development of the policy which Balban had initiated. The result of Balban's and 'Alā-ud-dīn's policy was that the generation which lived under them failed to produce any man of outstanding merit, and not a single individual came to the top who could be expected to play the part which, at times, men of position are required to play under monarchies. 'Alā-ud-dīn followed Balban, and his dynasty suffered the same fate.[1]

Second experiment

The second experiment was to maintain the military fiefs with all their rights and duties, but to make the fief-holder responsible to the central government as far as revenue matters were concerned; and accordingly they were required to present the financial account to the vazīr's department. This appears to have continued throughout the Tughluq period. Muhammad Tughluq's advice to his revenue department, to treat the fief-holders courteously in demanding accounts, gives an idea of the position of the military chiefs in this matter.[2] Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq made free use of this practice, and gave different parts of the country to different persons, purely of his own choice, on fixed sums. Fīrūz Tughluq reverted to the old system of raising the prestige of military chiefs and reconciling them to the throne, but the practice of requiring them to render financial accounts appears

[1] See Barnī, p. 378, on contemporary views about the fall of 'Alā-ud-dīn's dynasty.

[2] ibid., p. 431.

to have continued. It was only in the period of confusion which followed the death of Fīrūz that military chiefs acquired their full power, and the political conditions of the country enabled them to retain it for a long time, and Bahlūl Lodī found no alternative but to confirm the prevailing conditions.

Third experiment

Bahlūl's was the third experiment of ruling Northern India on tribal lines, in which the king was only one among the chiefs and held the power by their consent.[1] This reduced the prestige of the monarchy to a great extent, and Sikandar Lodī, in spite of his extended kingdom and enhanced resources, found himself unable to change the existing conditions. When his son and successor, Ibrāhīm Lodī, risked a struggle with his military chiefs, he found his position untenable and lost the kingdom.[2]

Thus the history of the Delhī sultanate is the record of the conflict, in one form or other, of the monarchy with the fief-holders of the kingdom. During this struggle the kingdom lost that unity which was essential for its security in a foreign land. Even the early Turks, after Shams-ud-dīn, did not exhibit much anxiety to maintain it. When the country was not in a position to oppose them they fought among themselves, and personal aggrandisement or selfish ambition to gain the throne dominated the entire group of amīrs.

The struggle for power could not be carried on without the support of the local warlike elements, and they were included in that struggle as early as the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. They were conspicuous after the death of Fīrūz Tughluq, and their power finally revived in the fifteenth century. At a time when it was aspiring for royal power the

[1] See *Dāūdī*, F. 7, for his position before the amīrs.

[2] ibid., Fs. 53 and 59, for the opposition of the amīrs; F. 62 for Ibrāhīm's efficiency; F. 61 for his courage in the field. 'Digar sū-i-ravam ān khud na mardīst Na kār-i-surkhrūyān rū zardīst.'

accidental success of Bābar at Pānīpat, and again at Kanvāha, put an end to their ambitions.

The different experiments of the sultāns to rule a vast country, without a constitution of any kind, and with no form of government other than that type of monarchy known either to the rulers or the subjects, had their own respective merits, and there is no doubt that the methods devised by Shams-ud-dīn, Balban, 'Alā-ud-dīn, Fīrūz Tughluq and Bahlūl Lodī were in the interest of the country, and the country did benefit by their rule and work; yet they failed to solve the problem or to make any definite or permanent contribution to its solution.

They left behind precedents of all kinds, and there was not a single tradition which was not set aside at one time or another. The successive changes of dynasties did not permit the principle of dynastic rule to take root in the sultanate. Within a particular dynasty no tradition for succession was established. The throne was open to all. The murders of the monarchs did away with the idea of the sanctity attached to their person. Kings were set aside by ministers, and ministers got rid of by kings through secret murder.[1] The prestige of the monarchy was lowered, and no power was created to take its place.[2] Lessons

No effort was made by any dynasty or monarch to establish direct contact between the crown and

[1] See *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Fs. 251–4, 261–2, for the intrigues of Sarvar-ul-Mulk, finally leading to Sultān Mubārak Shāh's murder and the efforts of his successor, Muhammad Shāh, leading to the murder of Sarvar-ul-Mulk.

[2] Fīrūz Tughluq, like Shams-ud-dīn, tried the experiment of ghulāmān (slaves), but it also failed after him. See 'Afīf, for *Ghulāmān*, p. 268; separate department, p. 270; as archers and swordsmen, p. 271; in offices, p. 72; Dīvān-i-' Arz 'Imād-ul-Mulk, a ghulām of the king, pp. 443–4, for his position; *T. Mubārak Shāhī*, Fs. 162, 164, 171, for their domination at the capital after Sultān Fīrūz, and the result, F. 180.

the people. The division of the country into military fiefs, which, except for a short time under 'Alā-ud-dīn in a small part of the country, remained the dominant feature, left no scope for any such direct connexion. Hence the monarchy never received the support of the people as a whole. Loyalty to the chief or to the salt remained the only inspiring motive of the loyal, the respectable and the God-fearing subject.

The Muslims showed no unity among themselves. They never regarded the throne as a common heritage, and never made common cause for its support. The people as a whole exhibited no national consciousness, and gave no proof of national spirit at any stage or crisis.

Bābar's description of the country, as he found it, and his account of every class of people, clearly gives an idea of the conditions in which the Mughals entered the country and the material with which they had to deal.[1]

Bābar had no time for any reconstruction. Humāyūn got no chance to make a start in that direction. The old system continued under them. The defeat and expulsion of Humāyūn and his reconquest of the country emphasized the ephemeral character of the dynasties, and further brought to light the result of the lack of unity among the ruling section.

Sher Shāh favoured the centralization of power in the hands of the monarch, and, like 'Alā-ud-dīn, he was opposed to the rise of any powerful group in the country. His measures were calculated to leave no scope for it, but his reign was short and the experiment did not have a full chance. However, his reforms suggested certain lines of action to his successors.

[1] *Bābar Nāma*, II, pp. 195–208 and 241–7.

It was reserved for Akbar to take up the work of reconstruction in the light of the lessons and experiments recorded by three centuries of Muslim rule in Northern India.

PART I

CHAPTER I

THE KING AND HIS POSITION IN THE STATE

OUTLINE

The origin of the state: Hindū and Muslim conception.

The need for a king: protection and preservation of society.

The king an absolute monarch: supreme in state.

The divine element: the object of political thinkers in introducing it.

Requisite qualities of a king, as determined by Abul Fazl.

Abul Fazl's ideal king: his conception of Hākim-i-'Ādil (the just monarch).

His ideal upheld by Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.

The element of chance: success depending entirely upon the king's personality and political exigencies.

The origin of the state

THE theory of state in India, both under the Hindū and Muslim rule, is the theory of monarchy. All the political ideas and functions of state are centred round the person of the monarch. The geographical features and peculiar characteristics of the country, which emphasize the need for peace and security to an enormous extent, as noted in the last two sections of the introduction, are prominent in the ideas and theories of political writers as well.

The origin of the state and the need of kingship take root in the same dominant problem of peace. In the *Mahābhārata*, in *Sāntīparvan*, with Manū and with Kautīlya, the idea of justifying the king's authority is inspired by the anarchical condition of society—in which people having no king, in early times, 'met with destruction, devouring one another as the larger fishes devour the smaller'.[1] People having become completely worn out by the vices of intoxication, greed, wrath, and self-indulgence, 'the world was disturbed and the Vedās as well as justice perished'.[2] People 'without a chief were perishing'[3] because 'in the absence of one who wields the sceptre the strong man devours the weak'[4]—'as creatures would plunge into dense darkness owing to the non-appearance of the sun and the moon, as fishes in shallow water and birds in a safe place would fight one another and assuredly perish, so would these

[1] Ghoshal, U. N., *Mahābhārata*, p. 174. Benī Prasad, *Mahābhārata*, pp. 27–9, Theory.

[2] Ghoshal, U. N., *Sāntīparvan*, p. 176. *Manū*, pp. 74–5.

[3] See Benī Prasad, *Origin of the State*, p. 95, for Kautīlya.

[4] Kautīlya, *vide* Ghoshal, p. 154.

people die without the king and they would sink in utter darkness like cattle without herdsmen.'[1]

Muslim jurists and writers offer the same justification in their own way. Man's selfish and perverse nature is the chief obstacle in the preservation of order in society and peace in the country. Low qualities and base morals, like cruelty, oppression, injustice and insurrection, have become a part of man's nature. Hence God has ordained that, from amongst the people, there should be one hākim-i-'ādil, to direct the actions of the sons of Adam and the affairs of the people of the world on the right path, and keep them safe and secure.[2] If a just king is removed, 'swords are drawn and blood flows. The one who possesses a strong hand does whatever he likes. It is like a fire which spreads in a reed-bed and burns all that is dry. The green plants are also reduced to ashes by the nearness of dry ones.'[3] Abul Fazl also starts with the same assumption. 'If royalty did not exist, the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambition disappear. Mankind, being under the burden of lawlessness and lust, would sink into the pit of destruction, the world . . . would lose its prosperity and the whole earth become a barren waste.'[4]

The need for a king

Anarchy, confusion, man's selfish nature and the tyranny of the strong being the justification for royal power, 'protection' becomes the chief duty of the monarch. 'One should first have the king, then wife, and afterwards wealth, for if there were no king, how could one enjoy wife and wealth?'[5] 'A king who duly protects his subjects receives from each and all the sixth part of their spiritual merit;

[1] *Sāntiparvan*, LXVIII, *vide* Ghoshal, p. 90.
[2] *Zakhīratul Mulūk*, Fs. 28–89, MS. Add. 7,618.
[3] *Siyāsat Nāma*, p. 6.
[4] *Ā'īn*, p. 2. Bloch., I, ii; also *Ā'īn*, p. 290, for a similar plea.
[5] *Sāntiparvan*, LVII, 41.

if he does not protect them, the sixth part of their demerit also will fall on him.'[1] 'The king receives revenue as his fee for the service of protection.'[2] 'He who does not properly protect his subjects is a thief among kings.'[3]

The duty of Hākim-i-'Ādil is to curtail the hand of the strong upon the weak.[4] It is the sovereign who closes the doors of mischief, trouble and sedition. God makes the fear of him penetrate the hearts of the people, so that they may live in peace under his justice and desire the stability of his power.[5] 'By the light of imperial justice, some followed with cheerfulness the road of obedience, whilst others abstain through fear of punishment and out of necessity make choice of the path of rectitude.'[6] To Shāh Jahān, pādshāhī consisted in making easy the lives of subjects who are the treasures and deposits of the creator. The courage of the monarch should be devoted to the well-being of the weak and the love of the worshippers of God.[7]

When protection is guaranteed and peace is established, its blessings follow, and the blessings or conditions following peace and protection enumerated by these writers indirectly give us an idea of their conception of kings' duties and the scope of state activities. 'People sleep with the doors of their houses unbarred; the women, decked with all their ornaments and unguarded by males, fearlessly walk about the streets; the people practice virtues instead

[1] *Sāntīparvan*, *vide* Ghoshal, pp. 90 and 185.

[2] Kautīlya, *vide* Ghoshal, p. 137.

[3] *Manū*, VII, p. 144. Ghoshal, p. 185.

[4] *Zakhīratul Mulūk*, Fs. 88–9.

[5] *Siyāsat Nāma*, p. 5.

[6] *Ā'īn*, p. 2. Bloch., I, p. ii. Protection a worship for the household of sovereignty. *Akbar Nāma*, II, p. 132.

[7] Lāhorī, I, p. 387 and p. 32; (Pt. II) Begam Sāhib (Shāh Jahān's favourite daughter) to Aurangzebe in a letter.

of harming one another; the three classes perform great sacrifice of various kinds; the science of agriculture and trade, which is the root of this world, exists in good order.'[1] So with Abul Fazl, under the rule of a true king, 'sincerity, health, chastity, justice, polite manners, faithfulness, truth, an increase of sincerity . . . are the result'.[2] He is continually attentive to the health of the body politic, and applies remedies to the several diseases thereof. The object of the state under him becomes to remove oppression and bring out the latent faculties, or utilize the capacities of subjects under him, and so 'by means of the warmth of the ray of unanimity and concord, a multitude of people become fused into one body'.[3] 'Rule and power, sword and conquest are for shepherding and doing the work of watch and ward, and not for gathering treasures of gold and silver or decorating the throne and diadem.'[4] 'The hearts of just rulers are an iron fortress and celestial armour' for the sincere lovers of peace, and 'the life-slaying sword and heart-rending dagger' for the seditious and the wicked.[5] The sum total of the desires of just princes is that all mankind and every creature should abide in peace and tranquillity and should strive strenuously in obeying God and in the ways of a well-intentioned life.[6]

Thus the existence of the people, their happiness, the institutions of society, and the rules of morality and religion depend upon the king's office. Hence it is no wonder that the king's importance is emphasized. He becomes supreme in his sphere. He repre-

[1] *Sāntīparvan*, *vide* Ghoshal, p. 91.

[2] *Ā'īn*, p. 2. Bloch., I, p. iii.

[3] *Ā'īn*, p. 4. Bloch., I, p. iv.

[4] *A.N.*, III, p. 497. Beveridge, p. 755. Akbar's letter to the ruler of Tūrān in the thirty-first year.

[5] *A.N.*, III, p. 466. Beveridge, p. 703.

[6] *A.N.*, III, p. 498. Beveridge, p. 757.

sents sovereignty in his person and all the 'seven elements of sovereignty are absorbed in one'.

The divine element

The political writers and jurists were not content with merely emphasizing the importance of the office, but, forced by the conditions under which they were living, they deliberately introduced into it the divine element to strengthen the principle of authority, and thus obedience to the king was made a religious duty. According to Manū, the king is created out of the particles of the eight guardians of the world. 'He therefore surpasses all created beings in lustre.' He is a great deity in human form. Bhisma declares him to have absorbed the essence of the God Viṣnū. Hence 'the world bows down to one man as to a god'.[1] With Kautīlya kings occupy the position of the gods Indra and Yāma. Therefore they should not be slighted.[2] To Abul Fazl, 'royalty is a light emanating from God and a ray from the sun . . . modern language calls this light farr-i-izidī [the divine light] and the tongue of antiquity called it kiyān khwarah [the sublime halo]. It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of anyone, and man in the presence of it bends the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission.'[3] Akbar, in connexion with the pardon of the rebel Dāūd, says: 'We, by virtue of our being the shadow of God, receive little and give much. Our forgiveness has no relish for vengeance.'[4] Shāh Jahān, in his farmān to 'Ādil Khān, calls himself 'shadow of God' (mā ke sāya-i'-khudā aim).[5]

The king thus exalted must naturally possess requisite qualities for the fulfilment of his task.

[1] Ghoshal, pp. 181–3.
[2] Ghoshal, p. 134.
[3] *Ā'īn*, p. 2. Bloch., I, p. iii.
[4] *A.N.*, III, nineteenth year, p. 97. Beveridge, p. 136.
[5] Lāhorī, I, p. 174, ninth year.

Requisite qualities of a king

Kautīlya's ideal king rules according to Dandāntī[1] and establishes the Golden Age. Abul Fazl's ideal is traceable from scattered passages in his voluminous work. He does not believe in racial superiority or royal lineage as the chief claim to royal power. He lightly disposes of Mirzā Hakīm's ambitions and efforts against Akbar, 'race and wealth and the assembling of a mob are not enough for this great position'.[2] Basing sovereignty on divine origin, he makes the essential qualities much broader and of a universal type. 'Many excellent qualities flow from the possession of this light.' *Paternal love towards the subjects*, in which thousands find rest. *A large heart*, which includes courage and divine firmness. The king is neither daunted by the high position of the offender nor unmindful of the needs and wishes of the lowest. *A daily increasing trust in God.* He considers God as the real doer and himself the medium, and thus a conflict of motives can produce no disturbance. *Prayer and devotion.* Neither the success of his plans would lead him to neglect nor would adversity cause him to forget God.[3]

When Abul Fazl expresses his views in the light of historical facts happening before his eyes, he is more lucid, more definite and less rhetorical. In connexion with Mirzā Hakīm's attempts, referred to above, he says: 'Kingship is a gift of God, and is not bestowed till many thousand good qualities have been gathered together in an individual.' A few among the holy qualities (sifāt-i-qudsī) are magnanimity, lofty benevolence, wide capacity, abundant endurance, exalted understanding, innate graciousness, natural courage, justice, rectitude, strenuous

[1] Benī Prasad p. 21 (Theory). Literally it means 'science of coercion', generally translated as Political Theory, but preferably it should be the Science of Government.

[2] *A.N.*, II, p. 285. Beveridge, p. 421.

[3] *Ā'īn*, p. 4. Bloch., I, p. iii.

labour, proper conduct, profound thoughtfulness, and laudable overlooking of offences.[1] On another occasion Abul Fazl treats those qualities exhaustively, and to those enumerated above he adds a few more to complete his ideal. Besides being courageous, just, benevolent and forgiving, the king *must be above religious differences*. They must not withhold him from his duty towards all classes of men. All must have repose under him, so that 'the shadow of God may confer glory'. He must possess an ever-increasing love towards all his subjects, and must bring choice deliberation to bear upon his work and *do what is proper for the time*. He must possess a hatred of authority (taqlīd). Let the love of inquiry always precede and reason (dalīl parastī) be his guide.[2]

Thus Abul Fazl's monarch should take no notice of religions. He should act as time demands. He must follow inquiry and not be led by authority. Thus both Islāmic law and Hadīs cease to be the code of his government, and the religious bond being thus removed, Abul Fazl speaks more frankly. 'In spite of these qualities, he [the king] cannot be fit for this lofty office if he does not inaugurate universal peace [toleration]. If he does not regard all conditions of humanity and all sects of religion with the single eye for favour and not be mother to some and be step-mother to others, he will not become fit for the exalted dignity.[3]

The position of the king in this respect is further emphasized in one of Akbar's letters to the Shāh of Persia. 'The sections of mankind who are a divine deposit and treasure must be regarded with the glance of affection. It must be considered that divine mercy attaches itself to every form of creed,

[1] *A.N.*, II, p. 285. The importance of right intention and proper behaviour in kings is emphasized also on p. 39, *A.N.*, III.

[2] *A.N.*, III, pp. 452–3. Beveridge, p. 680.

[3] *A.N.*, II, p. 285. Beveridge, p. 421.

and supreme exertions must be made to bring oneself into the ever vernal flower-garden of "peace with all". The eternal God is bounteous to all souls. Hence it is fitting that kings, who are the shadow of divinity, should not cast away this principle.'[1]

The ideal king

In this manner Abul Fazl's ideal king or just monarch is a wise, enlightened, just, and God-fearing man—a lover of all people, cherisher of all sects and religions, shepherd of his subjects, iron fortress and celestial armour of the weak. A 'subject-grading' ruler,[2] bringing out the faculties of men, utilizing their capacities for every good, uniting the multitude into one common whole, and striving for that unity through the 'ray of unanimity and concord' with the watchword of 'Peace for all'.

He is the 'shadow of God'. He receives light directly from Him. He fears Him alone and trusts in Him alone. He seeks His help, receives it, and attributes success to Him. God is to him the doer, and he only the medium. On earth he is supreme in his sphere. His power as a ruler is absolute and indivisible, because 'ascetic sages and politicians who have regard to the repose of mortals' regard that repose 'bound up with one rule, one ruler, one guide, one aim and one thought'.[3]

Jahāngīr also regarded sovereignty as a gift from God. In connexion with Prince Khusrau's revolt and his partisans, he says: 'They overlooked the truth that acts of sovereignty and world-rule are not things to be arranged by the worthless endeavours of a few defective intellects. The Just Creator bestows them on him whom He considers fit for this glorious and exalted duty, and on such a person doth He fit the robe of honour.'[4]

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 659.

[2] The ruler who rewards his subjects according to their grades, and preserves such distinctions.

[3] *A.N.*, III, p. 4. Beveridge, p. 6. [4] *Tuzuk*, p. 24.

Shāh Jahān, in his letter to Shāh Safavī on the occasion of his succession to the throne, expresses his views about the requisite qualities of a just monarch.[1] They are nearly the same as those explained by Abul Fazl as far as practical administration and its principles are concerned.

But both Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān regard themselves, at least in theory, as Muslim kings. They do not think themselves above Islāmic Law. This idea finds its expression on several occasions.[2]

The ideal set by Abul Fazl had the full support of Akbar. His long reign gave it full scope for experiment, and he succeeded not only in establishing his principles, but in creating a tradition, and left the mark and stamp of his policy on every branch of the administration. Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān respected his name and his work. He was their ideal and they followed him with pride.

The element of chance

But the working of such principles and the achievement of such an ideal through monarchy, with no well-defined constitution and efficient safeguards, necessary in such cases, must ultimately depend upon the temper of the monarch and the political exigencies of the time.

The following pages contain an attempt to bring out the effort of these monarchs to achieve their ideal through an organized administrative machinery, and to examine how far success was achieved in that direction.

[1] Lāhorī, I, pp. 284–5.

[2] Lāhorī, I, p. 130 (Pt. II). Shāh Jahān's farmān to Qutbul Mulk, demanding the discontinuation of certain practices against the Sunnī faith, is very conclusive on this point (ninth year).

CHAPTER II

THE KING AND STATE BUSINESS

OUTLINE

The Division of Time

Jharoka-i-Darshan and its importance.

Dīvān-i-khās-o-'Ām and business transacted in it:

1. Inspection of animals.
2. The work of the kārkhānas.
3. Appointments and interviews.
4. Prisoners of war, etc.

Procedure followed in the Dīvān

Ghusal Khāna (Private Chamber).

Its significance—business transacted.

Shāh Burj (Royal Tower) and business.

Afternoon and evening meetings.

Separate day for justice.

Regularity in routine.

Attention to business.

The division of time

THE king is the khalīfa of God. He rules by virtue of divine right. Sovereignty is a gift, and the king is God's elect. The robe of kingship fits him. He is supreme in his sphere. He is the head of the government, the commander of the state forces, the fountain of justice, the chief legislator and the final authority in the country.

As the recipient of God's gift, he owes to Him worship and thanksgiving, and 'for monarchs the best worship consists in the proper discharge of their duties towards their subjects'.[1]

The absorbing interest of kings in state affairs and their attention to the details of administration is traceable under every able and vigilant ruler of Northern India from the earliest times. Megasthenes observed that the king's whole time was for the people. His doors were always open.[2] Under the Muslim rulers, 'Alā-ud-dīn, while centralizing all power in his own hands, devoted all his time to the minutest details. He himself fixed the price of the smallest article. He watched the market prices and supervised them through his boy-servants and pages.[3] Ibn-i-Battūta describes the working of the court under Muhammad Tughluq.[4] Sikandar Lodī himself supervised the administration and kept himself in touch with all its affairs.[5] Sher Shāh was his own minister, and transacted the business himself. But it is not possible to trace any regular routine fixed by them.

[1] *A.N.*, II, p. 207.

[2] *Vide* Benī Prasad, p. 181. Strabo says that the king never slept during the day-time, and that the hearing of cases occupied him the whole day.

[3] Barnī, p. 318. [4] Battūta, p. 197.

[5] *T. Mubārak Shāhī, MS.*, F. 5. *T. Dāūd MS.*, F 22.

Akbar, while regulating the state machinery, felt the necessity of regulating his own hours as well. He set down a routine for himself, and followed it with such regularity that it became a tradition in the dynasty. Abul Fazl has recorded it in the *Ā'īn*, and it is mentioned, on more than one occasion, in the *Akbar Nāma* as well, but these records do not agree with one another. It appears that they were changed at least twice in Akbar's reign.[1] However, it is definite that Akbar appeared three times every day for state business.[2]

The first appearance was in the morning after sunrise to give darshan, after which a public darbār was held and people had direct access to the king.

The second was in the afternoon when he reviewed the condition of the animals maintained by the central government and attended to the business of the kārkhānas and other similar routine work. If the business was heavy he continued to sit till after sunset.

The intervening time in the day was allotted to the affairs of the female department, and it was spent in the female apartments, where the affairs of the ladies of the harem, as well as of other females who made petitions to the king, were attended to.[3]

The night-time was reserved for private assemblies in which 'the learned, the wise and the truth-seekers' assembled together and held discussions on various topics. Sometimes state business was also conducted at this hour. In that case, only the officers of the state connected with the business and a few attendants were admitted.[4]

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 256, twenty-third year, and p. 717, thirty-first year.

[2] A.F. says in the *Ā'īn* (p. 155) twice only. He has not included the night meetings in it.

[3] Akbar spent in all two pahars (six hours) in the female apartments each twenty-four hours. *A.N.*, III, p. 257.

[4] *Ā'īn*, p. 155.

Generally Akbar retired late at night, after hearing music.[1]

Jahāngīr has left no such record of his routine in his memoirs, but, as he was always anxious to follow Akbar and the ideals set by him, he must have continued the same routine. Besides this suggestion, the scattered facts of this period and the accounts of the European travellers of his reign positively show that he did continue it.

Shāh Jahān gave considerable attention to every sphere of state activities. Slackness of administration in the latter part of Jahāngīr's reign, and the presence of the elements of opposition to Shāh Jahān, must have necessarily demanded his unusual attention. The chroniclers of his reign have recorded his routine with greater accuracy than Abul Fazl. Though he followed the tradition set by Akbar of appearing three times every day, yet he made substantial changes in the programme, and usually gave more time to these meetings than his predecessors.

Lowell says that in order to understand the government of a country it is not enough to know the bare structure of its institutions. It is necessary to study the actual working of the system, and 'although this depends chiefly upon the character, the habits and the traditions of the people, it is also influenced in no small measure by details . . . that are too often overlooked on account of their apparent insignificance'.[2]

Though it is not possible, with the material at our disposal, to trace the actual working of the Mughal administration in every department with the same thoroughness for which Lowell's work is valued, yet some idea of it can certainly be given by piecing together the scattered facts of Mughal rule under each head.

[1] *Ā'īn*, p. 155.

[2] *Continental Governments and Parties*, p. 1.

Jharoka-i-Darshan

This was the institution which Akbar established in his time. Abul Fazl says that the idea was to give the public a chance to appear before the king, and have free access to him without any obstacle or interference.[1] It became an established tradition of the Empire, and those who believed in it assembled every morning at dawn at the foot of the Jharoka. Soldiers, traders, merchants, artisans and peasants, all alike, flocked together to get the darshan.

Badā'ūnī attributes it to the influence of the Hindūs, who saw in Akbar a type of their ancient monarchs, and chiefly to those Brahmans who regarded him as an incarnation of Rāma and Srī Krishna. 'Low people who could not get into the Daulat Khāna flocked together below the Jharoka at sunrise. Unless they saw the "sacred face" they regarded food and drink prohibited to them.'[2]

Akbar appeared at the Jharoka, and, after giving the darshan, held an open court in which Hindūs and Muslims, high and low, men and women, all were allowed to present petitions and represent their cases in person, and the king did justice in these cases on the spot. 'Huge crowds assembled and there was much bustle.'[3] Akbar generally spent one and a half pahars (nearly four and a half hours) every day in this meeting.[4]

Jahāngīr continued it, and on one occasion he says that in spite of his illness he did not miss it.[5]

De Laet says Jahāngīr appeared every morning after sunrise at the window of the Jharoka—'the king looks down into this every day when the sun rises and himself greets the sun, the nobles gather here to greet the king, and take their stand on some rising ground . . . and the common people stand

[1] *Ā'īn*, p. 155; Lāhorī says the same, I, p. 145.

[2] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 236.

[3] Badā'ūnī, II, pp. 325–6. *A.N.*, III, p. 257.

[4] *A.N.*, III, p. 256.

[5] *Tuzuk*, p. 232, thirteenth year.

in the courtyard. He is then greeted by the people with the cry of Pādshāh Salāmat (Long Live the King). . . . On each of these occasions audience is given to anyone bringing a written petition.'[1]

Lāhorī says that 'this institution was the innovation of Hazrat 'Arsh-i-Āshyānī, and it has been continued by His Majesty also, so that the people might get the blessing of seeing the king before beginning their daily work, and the needy and the oppressed may get justice and redress without any formality or hindrance'.[2] Shāh Jahān usually sat in the Jharoka after the darshan for about two gharīs (nearly forty-eight minutes), or more or less as the business required. People submitted their petitions and presented their cases. The clerks of the judicial department took notes and laid them before the king in the Daulat Khāna-i-khās-o-'Ām, or Khilvat Khāna, when the king retired there. Thus Shāh Jahān did not deal with cases on the spot, like Akbar, and this change accounts for the difference in time allotted to this meeting by Shāh Jahān.

Some other business was also transacted at the Jharoka. Monserrate saw elephant fights under Akbar.[3] De Laet mentions the same practice under Jahāngīr.[4] There are several cases in which he reviewed the soldiers of the mansabdārs from the Jharoka. I'timād-ud-Daula's army passed before him in the maidān of the Jharoka of darshan.[5] Lashkar Khān had his men reviewed from the same

[1] De Laet, I, pp. 92, 93, 97. Morning prayer and afterwards darshan. Hawkins, p. 115.

[2] Lāhorī, I, pp. 143–4; and Sālih, I, pp. 242–3.

[3] *Ā'īn*, p. 155, line 20. Monserrate, p. 61.

[4] De Laet (p. 97) says the king looked at these in the afternoon, when contests of elephants, lions, buffaloes and other wild beasts were held every day except on Sundays. See Hawkins, pp. 106–8, for tamed elephants and elephant fights.

[5] *Tuzuk*, p. 185, twelfth year.

Jharoka.[1] Similarly Khān Daurān's men were inspected.[2]

The same practice was continued under Shāh Jahān. He did not hold elephant fights on Thursdays, which was his coronation day. The most famous case under him is one in which Aurangzebe exhibited his exemplary courage and presence of mind, when he was attacked by one of the furious elephants during the contest, and he won the title of Bahādur from his father.[3] Furious elephants, and also the horses which could not be brought in the Daulat Khāna for inspection, were reviewed there, and the soldiers of the mansabdārs passed before the king in the same maidān.[4]

Dīvān-i-khās-o-'Ām

After the morning work of four hours and a half, Akbar retired, and appeared again in the afternoon and held a full darbār. This meeting was held in the state hall and the routine work was transacted, and 'as rulers are bound to attend to the helpless dumb', so he spent some time in inspecting the animals maintained by the central government.[5] It appears, from the scattered facts in the *Akbar Nāma*, that Akbar attended mainly to the affairs of the kārkhānas and other ordinary routine work of the state in this meeting. Hence, he spent here only four gharīs (or one hour and thirty-six minutes). It also appears that sometimes the time was changed for the meeting, and the king appeared late in the afternoon, and at times after sunset, but on all such occasions a large drum was beaten, and thus all could get notice of the change.[6] Jahāngīr continued the afternoon

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 186. [2] ibid., p. 257, thirteenth year.

[3] Lāhorī, I, p. 489, sixth year. The elephant's name was Sudhkar; Aurangzebe's age was fifteen years. Hawkins also mentions the cases of persons thus injured, p. 108.

[4] Lāhorī, I, p. 144.

[5] *Ā'īn*, p. 155; *A.N.*, III, p. 257.

[6] *A.N.*, III, p. 257. Badā'ūnī also mentions a full darbār being held

meetings, but they were longer and the nature of the business transacted at this hour was more varied than that of Akbar, and, according to De Laet, common people had access to the king at this hour also, like the morning darbār.[1] Shāh Jahān made certain alterations in this programme, and he did not retire from the Jharoka-i-Darshan, but entered the Jharoka of the Dīvān-i-khās-o-'Ām,[2] and held the full darbār. The nature of the work was nearly the same as under Jahāngīr, and he sat there usually for four gharīs, and, if the business was heavy, even five (i.e. an hour and thirty-six minutes to two hours).

Animals. Akbar first inspected the animals. A fixed number of elephants, horses, camels, cows and mules were presented in a fixed order every day. Later on, in the forty-first year of the reign, a separate day was allotted for the inspection of each of them. On one occasion Akbar was inspecting the elephants and giving one thing or another to each animal passing before him. He said to Abul Fazl, pointing out to one, 'You will be in charge of this'. The animal did not approve of the suggestion, and at once refrained from eating.[3] Jahāngīr mentions his inspection of the elephants caught for being tamed. 'They were higher than the Akbarī and Jahāngīrī elephants.'[4] Business

In the same meeting the prices of newly purchased animals were fixed, the condition of the old reviewed and their keepers fined or rewarded.[5] The practice continued under both of Akbar's successors, and there are several cases recorded of the purchase of

at night, and it appears from his suggestions that Akbar admitted the common people seeking interviews at this hour also (II, p. 157).

[1] De Laet, pp. 93–4. 'The king shows himself to the people thrice every day, on each of these occasions audience is given to anyone bringing a written petition.'

[2] Called also Daulat Khān-i-Khās-o-'Ām.

[3] *A.N.*, III, p. 575.

[4] *Tuzuk*, p. 234, eleventh year.

[5] *Ā'īn*, pp. 161–3.

horses under Shāh Jahān, in which he was chiefly interested.[1] Animals received in peshkash, or given to princes and officers and others by the king, were also exhibited here.

In the *kārkhānas*, i.e. factories and stores maintained by the central government, all kinds of work in arms, jewellery, cloth, embroidery, painting and calligraphy, portraits, translations and original literary works were put before the king. Shāh Jahān inspected them in the private chamber in the morning sitting.[2]

Fresh appointments and reception of visitors and officers

It was in this darbār that fresh appointments were made, increments granted to officers, jāgīrs conferred. Abul Fazl has recorded his first appearance in the court in his own graphic way.[3] Badā'ūnī has recorded his first appointment and several other appearances before the king in this darbār.[4] Provincial governors and other officers proceeding on military duties, or to their headquarters, appeared before the king on the day of their departure, and those coming back to the court reported their arrival in person in the darbār. Akbar once received Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, the author of the *Tabaqāt*, with his party of camel-riders, who had done six hundred kos in twelve days from Gujrāt. They were ordered to enter in at once in the same condition. 'It was a wonderful scene and was enjoyed by all.'[5] Prince Khurram, before proceeding to the Deccan, presented his select men in full armour in the afternoon, in the courtyard of the Dīvān-i-Khās-o-'Ām, where, besides other rewards, the title of Shāh Jahān was conferred on him.[6] On

[1] 'His horses and elephants are here brought before him, and are tested by certain servants to see if they are in good health.'—De Laet about Jahāngīr, p. 99. *Vide* Hawkins, p. 107.

[2] Lāhorī, I, p. 149. Brahman, pp. 26–9.

[3] *A.N.*, III, pp. 84–5.

[4] Badā'ūnī, II, pp. 366, 374, 375, 384.

[5] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 372, thirty-fifth year of the reign at Lāhore.

[6] *Tuzuk*, p. 167, eleventh year.

his successful return from the same expedition, he was summoned to the Jharoka of the Dīvān, and the emperor rose from his seat, embraced him, and allowed him to sit there. Bakhshīs were then ordered to present the officers who had served under him, according to their rank. When two days later Shāh Jahān arrayed his peshkash, including select elephants and horses, in the courtyard, the emperor came down from the Jharoka and saw everything in detail for the sake of the prince.[1]

Reception of a prince or an officer on the Jharoka was the highest distinction which could be shown by the emperor in a public darbār. It was only the distinguished service performed and brilliant success achieved by Shāh Jahān which gained for him that distinction. The same honour was bestowed by Shāh Jahān upon Āsaf Khān, to whom he owed his throne, when he returned from Lāhore and did his first homage to him at Āgra, after his coronation.[2]

Distinguished visitors, ambassadors, and rulers from other countries, were received at first in the public darbār, and later on admitted into private audience in the private chamber, if so desired. Monserrate gives an account of his first appearance before Akbar, and other interviews with him.[3] Chandra Bhān has given a very vivid account of the reception of Khusrau, son of Nazar Muhammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, by Shāh Jahān.[4]

Sometimes prisoners of war, defeated foes and subdued rebels were also presented in this darbār. Akbar received a party of prisoners sent by the governor of the Panjāb. They were covered in bullock hides, with ears on. The scene excited much laughter.[5] Shāh Jahān received Jagat Singh, after

Prisoners of war, etc.

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 196, twelfth year.

[2] Lāhorī, I, p. 178. Hawkins, p. 115, says the darbār was held from 3.0 to 5.0 p.m. Finch, pp. 184–5.

[3] Monserrate, pp. 28, 37, 50, 64, 133–4.

[4] Brahman, pp. 127–31.

[5] *A.N.*, III, p. 40, eighteenth year.

his defeat and surrender, with the bag of money, which he had brought to present, hung round his neck.[1] In the seventeenth year he received Rāja Partāb Singh, Zamīndār of Palāyūn, Behār, after his submission to the governor of the province.[2]

Procedure

Abul Fazl has left no record of the procedure followed in the darbār for the transaction of state business, though the state machinery, by the time of the completion of the *Ā'īn*, had been fully established. He gives an account only of the seating arrangement followed in the darbār, and only casual references are found to matters put before Akbar by officers concerned, and those who had the privilege to stand near the throne, or who were entitled to speak before the king. Similarly no such account is available under Jahāngīr. Pelsaert, who lived at Āgra and had chances to know all about such matters, has left nothing definite in his records on that point. De Laet simply says: 'The king daily comes forward to this place between three and four p.m. . . . He stays here till evening, hearing cases and listening to despatches from the various provinces, which the vazīr reads to him.'[3] But Shāh Jahān's chroniclers have left a complete account of the procedure of business transacted in the darbār and in other meetings. The elaborate arrangement under him must be regarded as the development of the procedure which must have been followed in the previous two reigns.

Shāh Jahān in the Jharoka of the dīvān

He entered it immediately after retiring from the Jharoka-i-Darshan. Here, as under Akbar and Jahāngīr, princes, amīrs and officers assembled and stood left and right, according to their ranks.

The secretaries of various departments stood by the Jharoka, where the king took his seat, and read

[1] Lāhorī, I, p. 256, fifth year. [2] Sālih, II, MS., Fs. 140–1.
[3] De Laet, pp. 98 and 99.

out their notes on various subjects. The affairs connected with the mansabdārs were put before the king by the bakhshīs. Their increments were sanctioned and postings made. Mansabdārs and other officers, proceeding to provinces, or coming back to the court, were also presented at that time. The bakhshīs, standing on the *right*, put forward all such cases of mansabdārs and took down brief notes of orders passed on them.

After the bakhshīs, Sadr-i-Kul (the chief sadr of the dominions) presented the reports of the subordinate sadrs, and placed before the king any other matter connected with his department. He also recommended the cases of deserving persons, and obtained the royal sanction for their stipends.

On the *left* stood the Mīr Ṣāmān, in charge of the state kārkhānas, and put before the king any matter he thought worthy of the king's attention. In the same manner the Dīvān of the same department placed before the king the papers and financial matters connected with his duties. He was followed by the Bakhshī of the Ahadīs, and the Mīr Ātish (Commander of the Artillery at the capital), who put forward the cases of their respective departments and obtained the necessary sanction.

After them the nobles were allowed to place before the king the cases of their own men (tābinān) and make necessary recommendations. It appears that they had the privilege of bringing to the notice of the king any matter they thought proper or worthy of his notice.

When every day's fresh business was thus transacted, the secretaries put before the king the summary of the king's orders passed by him on the previous day. These included all matters of revenue, finance, appointments, mansabs, awards of jāgīrs or cash salaries, government grants and orders of payments. In the same manner orders connected with

the department of sadr were put before him, and revised.

After the review of these papers, the petitions of princes, governors, bakhshīs, dīvāns, faujdārs and other officers of the provinces were presented by those who had the privilege of being near the king (muqarrabān-i-dargāh).

This procedure seems somewhat opposed to the principle of official responsibility and proper routine, which is prominent in the system of the Mughals. It appears that private petitions and important matters requiring the immediate attention of the king were sent through nobles at court, and the said procedure was intended to avoid the delay which must be caused in official routine, but officially every matter passed through the department concerned, and reached the king through the proper channel, and matters presented by individuals were also referred to the heads of departments for opinion, or decided on the spot with their co-operation. This point becomes clear by a sentence of Lāhorī, in the same connexion that the gist of the petitions of other servants reaches through the appointing officers.[1]

Thus it was the privilege of high and responsible officers that their cases could also be placed before the king by persons of their own choice, and their petitions read out or handed over to the king, in full, while in other cases the responsible officer of the department concerned put only his own note before the king.[2]

In the meantime, the dāroghas (superintendents) and mushrifs of elephants and royal stables kept a fixed number of horses and elephants ready in groups

[1] Lāhorī, p. 147.

[2] Abul Fazl, while deputed in the Deccan, complains that reports sent by him were delayed or not fully read out before the king, as the officers were not favourably inclined towards him (*A.N.*, III, forty-fourth year, p. 753).

for inspection, and passed them by the side of the red parapet (of the second and the outer apartment of the dīvān), and the king inspected them from a distance, noticed their condition, and passed orders for deductions to be made from the salaries of their keepers, in case they were found lean or in bad condition.

After this the officers in charge of dāgh and tashīhah (branding and verification) presented the soldiers and horses of amīrs.

When the entire business was thus completed, the king retired to the private chamber. He usually took five gharīs (or two hours) to finish all this work.

In spite of the heavy work transacted in this meeting, Shāh Jahān read all important papers himself, and at times wrote on the spot replies to urgent inquiries with his own pen.[1]

Ghusal Khāna (private chamber)

Abul Fazl has nowhere explained the significance of this term, nor has he mentioned it in connexion with Akbar's night or afternoon meetings. He generally uses the word Daulat Khāna, but in contemporary records this term is used both for the dīvān and the private chamber. The use of the term is definite under Jahāngīr and properly used for the private chamber. Lāhorī and Sālih explain how the term came to be used for that chamber.[2] Between the Dīvān Khāna and the female residences there was an apartment in which Akbar used to take his bath, after which a few trusted persons were admitted to see him. Later on, the dīvān and bakhshī were admitted for state business, and gradually certain nobles of the court were also allowed in. Thus state business came to be transacted there, and the chamber, by its proximity to the bathroom, came to be known as the Ghusal Khāna

[1] Lāhorī, I, pp. 146–8. Sālih, pp. 244–6. Brahman, pp. 11–23 and 35–9.

[2] Lāhorī, I, p. 148. Sālih, I, p. 247.

(or bathroom). Shāh Jahān gave it the name of Daulat Khāna-i-Khās, and it became popularly known by this name under him.[1]

However, it is certain that Akbar devoted much of the night to these meetings. 'His Majesty is accustomed to spend the hours of the night profitably, in the private audience hall. Eloquent philosophers and virtuous sufīs are then admitted. There are also present in these assemblies unprejudiced historians, who do not mutilate history by adding or suppressing facts, and relate the impressive events of ancient times. . . . On other occasions matters referring to the Empire and the revenue are brought up, when His Majesty orders for whatever is to be done in each case.' Abul Fazl's remarks under the regulation of Sijdah lead to the same conclusion. 'However, in the private assembly (Anjuman-i-Khās), where only a few of the fortunate receive order to be seated, they certainly perform the prostration.' Hence it was the same assembly of the fortunate few which later on discussed religious matters. The religious discussions held under Akbar are well known, and need neither enumeration nor elucidation. A few examples are given below which suggest that the night meetings were held for the transaction of business also. Monserrate has referred to several meetings at which he was present, but it is a matter of regret that he does not mention any subject other than the religious topics in which he was specially interested. 'When a council was being held, or when he [Akbar] summoned them [the reverend fathers] to his private audience chamber for familiar conversation, he used to make them sit beside him. . . . He frequently

[1] Lāhorī, I, p. 148. Sālih uses the term Khilvat Khāna, I, p. 247, and elsewhere he constantly uses the old term, Ghusal Khāna. Brahman uses the same throughout. The term thus survived. Sālih, I, pp. 249–50, and II, p. 512; Br. Mus. MS. 486.

left the public audience chamber to converse with them in private.'[1] Later on, when Monserrate accompanied him in the Kābul expedition, he observed his busy hours, and he describes his attention to every detail, and refers to such meetings as well. 'The king's nights were spent in prolonged councils of war';[2] 'he asks each counsellor privately for his own opinion, and then himself decides upon the course which seems to be supported by the largest number and the most experienced.'[3] Abul Fazl incidentally refers to one night meeting, though the object is to suggest indirectly that Akbar possessed supernatural powers. On the eve of the 22nd a meeting was being held. Suddenly clouds gathered, and it was about to rain. 'His Majesty said: "Be gentle, O rain, and do not cause the dispersion of this spiritual assembly." Soon the air became clear and there was wonderful stillness. Everywhere else it rained heavily, but it kept away from the palace.'[4]

Jahāngīr uses the word Ghusal Khāna in his memoirs, and night meetings continued under him, though there is reason to believe that their regularity must have suffered by his continued illness and mental worries in the later part of his reign. De Laet says: 'From seven to nine in the evening he holds a private conference with his magnates in a most beautiful hall, called Guzelcan.'[5] Pelsaert says that strangers, who had to make requests, were also given audience in the private chamber.[6] Jahāngīr incidentally records a night meeting in which an embassy from the Shāh of Persia was also present. 'On the night of the 19th Ābān, after my usual custom, I was in the Ghusal Khāna. Some of the amīrs and attendants, and by chance Muhammad Rizā Beg, the ambassador of the

[1] Monserrate, p. 64. [2] ibid., p. 123. [3] ibid., p. 203.
[4] *A.N.*, III, p. 711. Bev. p. 1060. It was an open-air meeting.
[5] De Laet, p. 93. [6] Pelsaert, p. 53.

ruler of Persia, were present. . . . The meeting lasted for more than two hours.'[1] Another reference in the memoirs shows that, like Akbar, Jahāngīr also had regular arrangements for such meetings during his tours. 'At this stage a strange affair was witnessed . . . at night, when we halted, two large sāras (cranes) appeared, making loud cries near the Ghusal Khāna, which they had placed on the edge of the tank, as if somebody were exercising oppression on them. They fearlessly began their cries and came forward. It occurred to me that certainly some kind of wrong had been done to them. Inquiry was made, and it was found that their young had been taken.' They were produced before the king and restored to them.[2]

Shāh Jahān held the private assemblies twice every day. One was held immediately after his retiring from the Dīvān-i-Khās-o-'Ām in the morning. Here the vakīl and the vazīr had the chance of private conversation with the emperor, and they reported the cases and put before him matters which could not be discussed in the full darbār. Dīvāns presented the affairs of the khālsa and the jāgīrs.

Reports received from provincial governors were handed over to a few of the trusted nobles, who went through them and put the text before the king. Orders were passed on them and sent through the vakīl or the vazīr to the clerks, who drafted the farmān. Drafts of such farmāns were placed before the king in the same assembly, and he went through

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 186, eleventh year; Rogers' translation p. 337. The reference in this account is to Jahāngīr's shooting an owl in the dark, and the applause by those who witnessed it outside, and after it to the king's talk with the embassy about the Shāh's getting his eldest son murdered. Sir Thomas Roe also refers to this meeting.

[2] *Tuzuk*, p. 169, eleventh year. Tour from Ajmere to Mālva. The suggestion is that even birds and animals had courage to demand justice before him, and to approach him fearlessly.

them personally and made necessary alterations or corrections.[1]

The chief sadr presented needy persons, who could not be presented in the Dīvān, and obtained orders for land or cash allowances.

After the transaction of this business, some time was devoted to the inspection of work done in the different branches of the kārkhānas. Chander Bhān says that the king took a keen interest in every art and workmanship. On the one hand were laid jewellery, works of gold and silver, and on the other, the diamond-cutters and experts in every art talked with him and received instructions. Orders received from provinces for work in the royal factories, and goods purchased for royal stores, were also brought to his notice. Similarly, literary works, translations, copies of manuscripts, specimens of calligraphy, paintings and portraits were placed before him. In the same manner, various arms, swords and guns, manufactured in the royal factories, were reviewed.

The dāroghas of the building department, in consultation with the engineers and architects, presented maps and models for proposed royal buildings. The king went through them step by step, and made most suitable alterations, and often criticized them. The vakīl, Yamīn-ud-Daula, took down notes and details of alterations, which were handed over to the officers of the department for necessary action and future reference.

Some time was also spent in inspecting the birds and other animals trained for hunting, and the fine horses which were paraded in the courtyard.[2]

Shāh Jahān usually spent four to five gharīs (nearly two hours) in this assembly.

[1] Sālih, I, p. 248. Lāhorī, p. 148.

[2] Brahman, pp. 26–8. Lāhorī, pp. 148–9. Shāh Jahān had very fine taste in architecture. The cases in which he criticized plans and buildings, and ordered alterations, are throughout recorded in his chronicles.

Shāh Burj

After finishing the work in the Ghusal Khāna he retired to a still closer apartment, called the Shāh Burj. This was peculiar only to Shāh Jahānābād, Lāhore and Akbarābād. This place was originally reserved for conferring with the princes, but a selected few were admitted on business for a short time, and they always retired after finishing it. But the utility of this private assembly was much increased by allowing the vakīl and the chief vazīr to see the king in private. The king himself summoned the chief minister at times, to confer with him on important and confidential matters which could not be expressed in other assemblies for reasons of state. The king expressed his views and discussed such matters with him.

Similarly, some of the farmāns of a confidential nature to provincial officers, or amīrs deputed in distant places, which could not be shown to others, were discussed and decided upon in this assembly.

Sometimes the vazīr was allowed to present to the king in this gathering any urgent business concerning the khālsa or the jāgīrs, which was not attended to for lack of time at the last meeting of the Daulat Khāna-i-Khās.

Usually two to three gharīs were spent here.

From the Shāh Burj the king retired to the female apartments, offered his afternoon (zuhar) prayers, took his luncheon, and, after a short nap, resumed his work there.[1] First the affairs of the ladies of the harem were put before him, and afterwards he dealt with the petitions of other ladies, presented by Queen Mumtāz Mahal, during the few years of her life after Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne, and later on by her daughter, Begam Sāhib. Satī-un-Nisā, a refined and learned lady of the court,

[1] According to Brahman, he finished this work before taking the nap (pp. 34-5), but a little rest immediately after the midday meal is common in Northern India.

acted as secretary to both the mother and the daughter till her death.

Afternoon and evening meetings

The king stayed in these apartments till 'asar prayers, after which he appeared in the public hall of audience, took the salute of the guards, and received the kornish of the 'fortunate ones' present there, and entered the Daulat Khāna-i-Khās, where state business of the same nature as transacted in the morning was attended to. But it appears that this meeting was more limited than the morning one, and was mostly attended by the ministers and high officials. Just as the vakīl or the chief vazīr had an opportunity in the Shāh Burj, so the ministers must have had facilities to express their views on certain matters before the king at this hour. It was a meeting mainly for routine work. In such a case the presence of the prime minister should not be considered necessary. It was after sunset prayers that the number of visitors and nobles increased. The king sat till sunset and rose for prayers, which he always offered in congregation. Here the ulamās and shaikhs joined and accompanied him to the private chamber.[1]

After the prayers the Daulat Khāna-i-Khās was beautifully lighted, and scented candles, in gold and silver candlesticks studded with precious stones, added to the lustre of the beautiful hall. The lighting time also formed an institution under Akbar, and it continued under his successors. Abul Fazl has preserved a vivid account of the ceremony. Jahāngīr composed a couplet himself, which was recited at the time. Shāh Jahān was always present. Praises to God and verses of thanksgiving, followed by couplets of prayers for the long life of the king and the continuance of the Empire, closed the ceremony.[2]

[1] Sālih, I, p. 249. Lāhorī, I, p. 152. Brahman, pp. 35–9. Brahman is not very accurate in his arrangement.

[2] 'When the sun sets, the attendants light twelve candles on twelve candlesticks of gold and silver and bring them before His Majesty,

Chandra Bhān says that Shāh Jahān resumed business again after the prayers.[1] He did his work at this hour cheerfully, and never seemed tired or uninterested, but rather refreshed. He spent four to five gharīs, or nearly two hours, in the work after prayers.

Some time was spent in listening to music. Special arrangements were made for this function also, and from Akbar's time particular attention was given to make the assembly cheerful and to create a change after the monotony of the day's work.[2]

The assembly broke up for the night prayers of 'ishā', and if any business was left the king retired again to the Shāh Burj to complete it. The chief vazīr and bakhshīs were admitted, and thus this meeting again afforded an opportunity to the ministers for a private audience with the king. This closed the business of the day and the crowded programme of the king. He retired to the female apartments and enjoyed music in their company for an hour, and then entered his bedroom, where story-tellers and readers with good voices sat behind a curtain, and read out works on history and biographies of prophets, saints and the famous monarchs of the world.[3]

when a singer of sweet melodies, with a candle in his hand, sings a variety of delightful airs to the praise of God, beginning and concluding with a prayer for the continuance of this auspicious reign.'—*Ā'īn*, p. 43; Bloch., p. 49; Brahman, p. 38.

[1] Shāh Jahān was busy writing a farmān to some eminent amīr when Salābat Khān, the mīr bakhshī, was attacked and killed by Rāo Amar Singh, and a rowdy scene followed. It was during the meeting after sunset prayers (Lāhorī, p. 380, seventeenth year).

[2] Shāh Jahān was himself a good dancer, and played on several instruments also, like Akbar (Lāhorī, I, p. 152; Brahman, p. 41). He refrained from music for two years after the death of Mumtāz Mahal (Lāhorī, I, p. 387).

[3] Extracts from the *Zafar Nāma* and *Bābar Nāma* were usually read before Shāh Jahān. Brahman adds the *Akbar Nāma* to the list. Akbar slept seven and a half hours, Shāh Jahān never took more than six hours' sleep (*A.N.*, III, p. 257, and Lāhorī, I, p. 153).

All the three monarchs had a day set apart for personally attending to judicial cases. Akbar had fixed Thursday,[1] Jahāngīr reserved Tuesday,[2] and Shāh Jahān devoted Wednesday to the administration of justice. On that day he retired from the Jharoka of the darshan direct to the private chamber, and no one, except the officers of the judicial department and persons entrusted with the duty of giving the fatvah, and a few ulamās noted for learning, piety and honesty, were admitted.[3] Justice

The transaction of state business by the king, according to a definite and set programme, was decidedly a contribution made by Akbar to the administrative machinery of the monarchy. The rules and regulations laid down by Akbar, followed by Jahāngīr and developed by Shāh Jahān, show the attitude of these monarchs towards their responsibilities and position in the state. The lessons learnt, and experience gained in the three centuries of Muslim rule in the country, together with the shock which the Mughal Empire itself received under Humāyūn, were fully understood by Akbar and his immediate successors. In spite of all the rules and regulations established by them, they never forgot the dangers with which the Empire was beset, nor did they underrate the disadvantages under which they ruled. In the absence of any constitutional body or permanent authority in the state to control and supervise the administrative machinery, the only guarantee to avert, check, or overcome the dangers to the Empire, and to ensure the smooth working of the administration, was the vigilance of the ruling monarch. They realized it, regulated it, and worked it out. Regularity

The routine once established became a tradition

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 717.

[2] De Laet, p. 93; Hawkins, p. 116; Finch, p. 184.

[3] This section has been dealt with in detail under Justice.

of the family and the Empire, and it could be interfered with only by unforeseen or unavoidable circumstances of a nature which might justify, in the eyes of the public, the absence of the king from the darshan, and from the public and private audience halls before the nobles and officials. Hence there are only a few occasions under each monarch on which he absented himself from one or the other. A few cases noted below will give the idea of the importance attached to the tradition thus established.[1]

[1] Cases of absence from state business.

Akbar

1. King's fall from an elephant during his tour, thirty-fourth year (*A.N.*, III, p. 572).
2. Attacked by a deer—injured—remained in bed for 29 days, but continued to give audience to nobles and officers, forty-first year (*A.N.*, p. 713).
3. Grief at the death of Rāja Bīrbal, thirtieth year (*A.N.*, III, p. 487).
4. Grief at the murder of Abul Fazl, forty-seventh year (*A.N.*, III, p. 813).
5. Illness before death—missed last four days out of 19; continued to take kornish, in spite of extreme weakness (*A.N.* III, p. 841).

Jahāngīr

1. Illness at Ajmere. Continued to appear at the Jharoka in the Dīvān and Ghusal Khāna for several days till overpowered. Ninth year (*Tuzuk*, p. 130).
2. Illness at Ahmadābād, but did not miss a single day of the Darbār-i-'Ām and the cases of the public. (*Tuzuk*, thirteenth year.)
3. Grief at the death of Khurram's daughter—did not appear two days. Eleventh year (*Tuzuk*, p. 160).

Though much of the state business suffered during the last six years of Jahāngīr's reign, owing to his illness and troubles, yet he continued to give time to state business. Pelsaert condemns his administration, but his remarks refer to the same period (1621–7). De Laet, writing about the same time, records his appearance in public and private assemblies at stated hours. Pelsaert himself speaks of his attending to business in the Ghusal Khāna, referred to above. Terry and Finch also speak of the same. Hawkins' description of drinking parties refers to late night hours, 9 p.m. to 1 a.m. only.

Shāh Jahān

1. Death of Queen Mumtāz Mahal: did not appear in the Dīvān and Daulat Khāna-i-Khās for one week (fourth year).

Significance of the king's routine

The three daily meetings of the king had a profound influence upon the general administration of the Empire. The institution of the darshan at the Jharoka, where the king sat with his face towards the rising sun, was an innovation based upon an intelligent study of the Indian mind. It meant indirectly respect to the practice of the worship of the sun. It afforded facilities to the Hindūs to offer their prayer and recite the river hymn[1] on the bank of the sacred river Jamna. It created the means of attracting the masses towards the person of the king, and impressing his existence and his personality upon their mind. In short it appealed to the psychology of the mob, and stirred the imagination of the masses. 'Akbar was a profound student of Indian history, and made a direct appeal to the deepest feelings of his subjects. When the pādshāh appeared at the Jharoka window of the palace every morning . . . crowds of Hindūs assembled, determined to begin the day auspiciously with the sight of Viṣnū's viceregent on earth.' [2]

It forced the king, the princes, nobles and all high officials to rise early in the morning, which is essential in the hot plains of Northern India for health and active habits. Thus it regulated their life and led them to attend to their daily duties, the

2. The illness of his favourite daughter, Begam Sāhib, absence for one day—appeared next day (the day of Sharf) for half an hour, and for several days stayed for a short time only.

3. His own illness for 19 days—did not attend to business (tenth year).

4. Brahman refers to one more occasion of illness, but does not mention the year. The absence was generally considered so unusual that when Shāh Jahān appeared, after a few days' illness, congratulations were offered and qasīdas read. Brahman himself read one (p. 58).

[1] 'O ye Gangā, Yamunā, Godāvari, Sarasvatī, Satadrū (Sutlej) and Parusnī (Rāvi)—receive ye my prayers. O ye Marutbindhā, joined by the Asiknī, Vitastā, and Ārjīkiyā, joined by the Susomā, hear ye my prayers!'—Mookerji, R. *Fundamental Unity of India*, p. 21.

[2] Havell, E. B., *History of Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 516 and 518.

neglect of which had been the cause of the ruin of previous ruling dynasties.

The custom of an open darbār was a great step to create a closer contact and direct connexion between the people and the king, a fact which was entirely ignored by the rulers of the Delhī sultanate. Besides the state chroniclers, contemporary writers and European travellers, who visited the Mughal court at different times, agree on the point that people had direct access to the king.

The practice of transacting the state business in full darbār brought the king in touch with all the affairs and the officers of the Empire to a degree which in those days could not be achieved behind the doors of an office. And in a way it curtailed the influence of vazīrs, of officials and of other persons who surrounded the king and possessed opportunities of influencing him in private. When a matter was put before the king by a minister, or brought to his notice by any other official, all those who had the privilege to be near the king had the right of speaking and expressing their opinions on it. This practice further minimized the chances of the domination of any particular person or clique at the court.

The king's appearance in the Ghusal Khāna (private chamber) afforded facilities to the ministers and heads of departments to advise the king on all important matters, and to express the views which they could not express in an open darbār. Thus the king had ample opportunities of getting direct information on an important matter, both from official and other sources, and to form his own judgement.

Shāh Jahān, under whom every institution and department received new vigour, further created facilities for his ministers in a still closer assembly in the Shāh Burj.

The regularity with which the routine established by Akbar was followed by himself, and the importance which it had gained under him, was a sufficient guarantee of its continuance under his immediate successors who had personally witnessed it. On the whole, it shows the spirit with which they started and the aims and objects they had placed before themselves. It also shows that they fully understood that the success of administration under monarchy depends upon the manner in which a king spends his time. The realization of this important fact forms the key-note to the measure of the success which the three great Mughals achieved. They performed their duties cheerfully, and themselves set examples to others on whom ultimately the carrying out of their desires and orders depended. Abul Fazl says: 'His Majesty looks upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline, he does not reject that which superficial observers call unimportant, and, counting the happiness of his subjects as essential to his own, never suffers equanimity to be disturbed.' Monserrate, who was highly impressed by Akbar's personality, supports this statement. He says: 'It is hard to exaggerate how accessible he makes himself to all who wish audience of him. For he creates an opportunity almost every day for the common people or for the nobles to see him and converse with him, and he endeavours to show himself pleasant-spoken and affable rather than severe. . . . Though at times he may seem at leisure and to have laid aside public affairs, he does not cease to revolve in his mind the heavy cares of state.'

Jahāngīr had the disadvantage of coming after Akbar, and is eclipsed by the glitter of his father's name and fame. He also lacks the service of a chronicler who could record his activities and his devotion to work. However, the picture as presented

by contemporary writers, and the glimpses gained through his own memoirs, show that, as far as the first fifteen years of his reign are concerned, he devoted his time and energies to state business, which he performed with zeal and pleasure. The last six years of his reign were full of troubles and anxieties, political and personal. His failing health was also responsible for the situation he had to face, and during this period he must have certainly lost his zeal for work and balance of judgement. The remarks of Pelsaert that 'he is king in name only', also apply to this period.

Shāh Jahān had to pay the price of his father's slackness, and he was the target of all the political moves and intrigues which centred round Jahāngīr in his last days. The difficulties which Shāh Jahān experienced in securing the throne, the condition of the Empire he witnessed in those days, and the inherent weaknesses of the system which it brought to the front, made him more cautious and careful in the discharge of his duties than his father. His personal attention to the work is obvious from the sketch of his daily routine of life, and the contemporary writers say, 'he never leaves today's work for tomorrow. No business before him suffers delay.' Professor Sarkar, writing about his daily life, says, 'The royal throne was not exactly a bed of roses even in those days. . . . It was a strenuous life that Shāh Jahān led and he gave peace, prosperity and contentment to his people.'[1]

> Khalq subuk dil ze girān bariash
> Fitna girāṅ khwāb ze bedāriash.[2]

But it is a strange coincidence that all the three monarchs experienced difficulties and setbacks in

[1] *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 15.

[2] India Office, MS. 1,344. This reference, given by Professor Sarkar, does not agree with the contents of this manuscript of the India Office.

the last days of their life and rule. This clearly points to the inherent weakness of the system, which continued to exist in spite of the healthy influence exercised by their personal attention and devotion to work.

The effects of both the healthy influence and of the inherent weakness of the system will be seen in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER III

FARMĀNS

OUTLINE

The Procedure in Drafting. Three Stages.

1. All orders passed by the king were recorded in the diary by the vāqi'a navīs.

The diary, after inspection by officers concerned, was approved by the king. Each order thus approved became a yād dāsht (memorandum).

2. The yād dāsht of important orders after several stages and approved by the chief minister became a ta'līqa (the gist of the order).

Orders on which the royal seal was necessary.

3. The ta'līqa retained by the bakhshī and a certificate (sarkhat) issued. The confirmation of the order by the king. The draft of the farmān. Its inspection by the king in important matters. The seals of different officers and ministers. Three kinds of royal orders—farmān-i-sabtī and bayāzī and parvānchas (which did not require the royal seal).

The Royal Seal

There were five kinds for different purposes, the most important being the uzuk (the signet ring). The charge of the royal seal was mostly in the hands of the royal ladies. Examples under different reigns.

Distinctions and Marks of Honour in Farmāns

1. Royal signatures on the farmān in addition to the official seal.

2. Adding a line or two by the king—or a farmān in the king's own handwriting.

3. Placing the mark of the royal panja (the hand) on the farmān.

Examples of each—facsimile of Shāh Jahān's panja and seal.

THE procedure in drafting the farmāns was very elaborate. Having regard to the conditions of the age in which the Mughals ruled, every necessary precaution was taken to safeguard against frauds in this connexion. A separate staff was appointed for recording the king's orders, movements and sayings in the darbār, and on all other public occasions. Fourteen news-writers, called vāqi'a navīs, were appointed to the court. Two of them were required to be present every day. They recorded in the diary whatever the king said or did, and whatever the officers of the state brought to his notice. Similarly, they recorded all matters connected with the personal routine of the king, his time of rising in the morning, appearing in public and retiring, his entertainments, public functions and the like.[1]

The drafting of the farmāns and procedure

The diary

The diary thus prepared was supervised by one of the high amīrs present that day in the darbār, and laid before the king for approval.

After the approval of the king it was handed over to the clerks, who made out a separate copy of each order and report and signed it. It was also signed by the parvānchī,[2] the mīr 'arz[3] and by the amīr who had laid it before the king.

The yād dāsht (memorandum)

Thus the accuracy of the copy was secured, and it was handed over to the person or the officer concerned as a voucher. The report thus prepared was called the yād dāsht or memorandum.

[1] Details given in *Ā'īn*, p. 193. King's orders, appointments, rewards, presents given, nazar and peshkash—audience granted—troops and horses reviewed—remarks passed, etc.

[2] The writer of parvānchas (orders not requiring king's seal). See p. 102 below.

[3] Officer in charge of petitions. See under Mīr Bakhshī, Chapter VI.

This completed the first stage of recording the orders and reports, and it was considered enough for matters of daily routine and unimportant cases.

Important matters, such as appointments, conferring of jāgīrs and the like, had to pass through several other stages, according to their nature and importance.

Besides the clerks mentioned above, there was a big staff of copyists, who wrote a neat hand and prepared a good summary in a lucid style. They received the yād dāsht when completed, kept it with them and prepared a proper abridgement of it. The abridgement prepared by them was signed by the vāqi'a navīs, the risālahdār,[1] the mīr 'arz and the dārogha.[2] This was given from this office instead of the yād dāsht, which was deposited here.

The ta'līqa (the gist of the order signed by the minister)

The abridgement thus completed was called ta'līqa, and the writer ta'līqa navīs. The ta'līqa was then signed and sealed by ministers of the state. A casual reference, under the regulation of seals, shows that it was also signed by the prince on duty in the darbār.[3]

This completed the second stage, and it must have sufficed for matters of minor importance in which the king's seal was not necessary.[4]

Orders requiring the king's seal

Orders on all the following matters required the king's seal:[5]

1. Appointments to the vakīlship, vizārat, sadārat, the post of a governor and bakhshī, the rank of amīrul-umarā, the tutorship of a prince, and a mansab.

[1] Literally the commander of a body of troops. Here it refers to the noble on duty in the darbār.

[2] The superintendent of the darbār.

[3] Bloch., p. 264.

[4] The ta'līqa did not require the king's seal.

[5] *Ā'īn*, p. 194. Bev., pp. 260–1.

2. Appointments to jāgīrs, with or without military service.

3. Conferring of sayūrghāls;[1] grants for daily subsistence, and for beneficent purposes.

I. Procedure

Every order for such an appointment or grant passed through the dīvān, the bakhshī and the sāhib-i-taujīh (military accountant).

The ta'līqa passing into a farmān

The ta'līqa prepared for orders of this nature was sent to the dīvān-i-jāgīr, who kept the jāgīr account. If the jāgīr was given for military service, it was sent to the bakhshī for inspection, who looked to the fulfilment of the conditions necessary for such an appointment.

The sarkhat (certificate)

The bakhshī kept the ta'līqa with him and granted a certificate called a sarkhat, specifying the amount of the monthly salary duly signed and sealed. Sarkhats were entered in the daftar of other bakhshīs also, and signed by them.

The sarkhat issued by the bakhshīs was sent to the dīvān, who kept it himself and prepared an account of the annual and monthly salary due on it, and referred it to the king.

If the king confirmed the order to confer a jāgīr on the person specified in the sarkhat, the dīvān issued necessary orders to the clerks, who made out the draft to that effect. The draft was inspected by the dīvān, and he ordered it to be entered. 'The mark of the daftar, and the seal of the dīvān, the bakhshī and the accountant of the dīvān' were put in order, when the 'imperial grant' was 'written on the outside'.[2] The draft thus completed was again sent to the dīvān for signature. This was called the ta'līqa-i-tan (certificate of salary).

This was forwarded to the sāhib-i-taujīh (military accountant) who kept that ta'līqa-i-tan with

[1] Grants of lands for charitable purposes. [2] Bloch., p. 261.

himself and wrote its details on the farmān, and sealed and signed it. It was then inspected by the mustaufī (auditor), and signed and sealed by him. After his approval it passed through the nāzir (revision officer) and the bakhshīs and the dīvān, and after their seals and signatures it reached the vakīl (prime minister) of the Empire, and received his seal.[1] This completed the third and the final stage.

Revision of the drafts by the king

The drafts of farmāns issued to the princes on duty, governors, faujdārs and dīvāns of the provinces, and for all other important matters, were put before the king, who went through them personally and made any corrections and alterations if necessary, after which they were written out by the munshīs (clerks).[2]

Sayūrghāl farmāns

In the case of sayūrghāls, the farmāns, after having been signed by the mustaufī, were sent to the ecclesiastical department, where they were entered in the daftars of the dīvān-i-sa'ādat and signed by the sadr, and finally by the dīvān-i-kul (chief dīvān).[3]

Farmāns for cash payments

If an order was issued for cash payments, it followed the procedure of an ordinary farmān, but after the signatures of the nāzir, it passed through the dīvān-i-buyūtāt,[4] and when it had passed through the hands of the bakhshīs and the dīvān, it was sealed and signed by the khān sāmān.[5] Before it reached the vakīl, it passed through the several hands of the buyūtāt. In every case the estimate was sent along with the order for payment. Thus it could be checked and compared at any stage.

[1] *Ā'īn*, p. 194.

[2] Brahman, Fs. 6b and 7a. Sālih, I, p. 278. If any mistake or slip of the pen was detected by him, he never passed any remark, nor ever got offended, but quietly made the correction.

[3] *Ā'īn*, p. 195.

[4] The dīvān of government stores and factories.

[5] The same as mīr sāmān. See details in Chapter VII.

A farmān thus prepared was called farmān-i-sabtī. Sabtī farmāns

Orders on important and confidential matters, which could not be placed in the hands of all and sundry, and which did not admit of delay, received only the imperial seal. Such a farmān was called the farmān-i-bayāzī. Important and confidential farmāns

It was folded up, the two edges were made to meet, and a knot of paper was put over it and sealed in such a manner that its contents could not be seen. It was then put in a golden cover and dispatched to the person concerned. Such farmāns were carried by mansabdārs, ahadīs, or common foot-soldiers, according to their nature and importance.

The details available in the following case show how fast the machinery could move on important occasions. Prince Khurram, who was at the head of the army in the Deccan, sent a petition to Jahāngīr that a farmān be issued to 'Ādil Khān, the king of Bijāpūr, in a manner suggested by him. The petition of the prince was received at the court on the 3rd Shehrevar. It was put before the king the same day, and the order was issued for the draft. The draft was made, put before the king and approved by him. The fair copy was made out, signed by the king, and dispatched to the Deccan on the following day.

It appears that it was sealed in such a manner that its contents could not be seen. Hence a copy of the same was also sent with it, so that the prince might read it and forward the original to 'Ādil Khān (tā farzand Shāh Khurram naql rā mulāhaza namūda asl rā ravāna sāzand). Similarly, two farmāns for Sir Thomas Roe, which he desired to be sent to Ahmedābād, were ready within two days.[1]

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 192, twelfth year. Roe, 1616, pp. 94 and 97. Delayed further two days on account of necessary changes.

Farmāns not requiring the king's seal

Certain orders, though of equal importance with other orders requiring the imperial seal, were not forwarded to the king, nor was the royal seal put on them. They were made out for the stipulated salaries of the begams and princes, for stipends under the dīvān-i-sa'ādat (ecclesiastical department), for the monthly salaries of ahadīs and of certain employees of the royal factories (kārkhānas), and for the allowances on account of the food of bārgīr horses.[1]

In these cases the treasurer did not demand a new sanad every year, but paid the salaries and allowances on the receipt signed and sealed by the ministers of the state.

The mushrif (accountant) wrote the receipt which was sanctioned by the dīvān. It then passed through the mustaufī, the nāzir-i-buyūtāt, the dīvān-i-kul, the khān sāmān and the mushrif of the dīvān.

In the case of ahadīs, the receipt was also signed by the bakhshī of the ahadīs.

The parvānchas were not put before the king for his seal. The first two lines of such orders were not made short, as was done in the farmāns. Thus they could be distinguished from them at a glance.[2]

Other papers not requiring the king's seal were:[3]

1. Sarkhats. (Certificates issued by the bakhshī, specifying the amount of the monthly salary.)
2. Sale and purchase receipts.[4]
3. Price-lists.
4. 'Arznāmchas (statements of sums forwarded to the court by the collectors of the imperial domains).

[1] Bārgīr—a person considered capable of military service, but not required to maintain a horse. A separate stable was maintained to supply horses to such persons when required on duty (*Ā'īn*, p. 144).

[2] See details in Chapter VII.

[3] *Ā'īn*, p. 195. They were intended to avoid delay.

[4] *Ā'īn*, p. 195 (ibtiyā' nāmcha and mābī' nāmcha).

5. Qarār nāmas.[1]

6. Muqāsa (statements of accounts which tahsīldārs took from the mustaufī, showing sums, which they had received as deposits, had been correctly expended).

The procedure and process involved in the completion of the farmāns is likely to appear lengthy and complicated to a layman, but one acquainted with the administrative technicalities and the requirements of the age in which the Mughal Empire existed cannot fail to appreciate the advantages it carried with it.

This procedure acted as a check upon high officials and the minister of the department primarily concerned. A department, forwarding a case of its own, had not the sole responsibility and authority to carry the order to its final stage. It could be checked, criticized or scrutinized by any of the high officers through whose hands it passed at different stages.

Though civil and military departments were separate, as far as the appointments and payments of salaries to mansabdārs and officers of the state were concerned, the procedure created an important blending of the two, and checked the domination and undue importance of either.

It left no room for the frauds which could be expected under a less vigilant monarchical government.

The tradition of keeping the royal seal separate from the office of ministers and sealing the farmāns in the female apartments, further created a safeguard against intrigue and fraud, and Abul Fazl seems justified in saying that 'His Majesty's object is that every duty be properly performed; that there be no undue increase or decrease in any department, that dishonest people be removed and trustworthy people be held in esteem; and that active servants

[1] *Ā'īn*, p. 195, specifying the revenue collections of the collectors on account of the ryots. Bloch., p. 263.

may work without fear, and negligent and forgetful men be held in check'.[1] The procedure described above provided means for the fulfilment of all these objects.

II. The Royal Seal

The five kinds of seals

According to the *Ā'īn* there were five kinds of seals used for different purposes.

1. The round small seal, known by the Chaghtaī name of uzuk,[2] used for farmān-i-sabtī (relating to titles, high appointments, jāgīrs and the sanction of large sums).

2. A large one—into which the name of the king and those of his ancestors up to Tīmūr were engraved—was used for letters to foreign kings, and later on for all purposes.

3. For other orders besides the sabtī farmāns, a square seal was used.

4. For judicial transactions a seal, mihrābī in form, which had the following verse round the name of the king, was used:

> Rāstī mūjib-i-Razā-i-khudā ast—
> Kas na dīdam Ke gum shud az rah-i-rāst.
>
> Uprightness is the means of pleasing God:
> I never saw anyone lost in the straight road.'

5. A separate seal was used for all matters connected with the female department.[3]

The charge of the uzuk seal

Of these the uzuk seal was the most important, and it is mentioned on various occasions in connexion with the draft of farmāns. It was usually

[1] *Ā'īn*, p. 193. Bloch., p. 259.

Monserrate (p. 209) says that the royal seal was affixed eight days after the receipt of the draft from the minister. 'During this eight days' interval, every document is most carefully examined by the confidential counsellor, and by the king himself, in order to prevent error and fraud. This is done with special care in the case of gifts and concessions conferred by the royal favour.'

[2] This is also written as ūzuk.

[3] *Ā'īn*, pp. 47–8. Bloch., p. 52.

entrusted to the most trusted person, and was not as a rule placed in the charge of the vakīl (prime minister) or the dīvān (vazīr). Abul Fazl has entirely overlooked the importance of these seals, and has nowhere mentioned the person or persons into whose hands the seal passed during the long reign of his master. It is only a casual reference in connexion with the deposition of Khvāja Jahān, in the eleventh year of the reign, which reveals that during the early part of Akbar's rule, after the fall of Bairām Khān, Khvāja Jahān had charge of the seal.

Father Monserrate, who was with Akbar in his Kābul expedition between 1581 and 1582, says that the farmāns were sealed eight days after they were received from the vazīr, 'by one of the queens, in whose keeping is the royal signet ring and also the great seal of the realm'.

This statement makes the arrangement very clear. The word used for the seal which was in the charge of Khvāja Jahān is muhr-i-muqaddas-i-kalān[1] (the great royal seal). Thus the small signet ring (uzuk) was in the charge of one of the queens,[2] and the great seal under Khvāja, which was also transferred to a queen after his fall. Towards the close of the reign, when Khān-i-Ā'zam Mirza 'Azīz Koka was made vakīl, in the fortieth year of the reign, he was given the charge of the great seal,[3] and, as he continued in office till Akbar's death, it must have remained in his charge till then.

Under Jahāngīr also the account is not complete. There is only one reference in the *Memoirs*, and it is in the first year of the reign. 'When I was prince I had entrusted, as a precaution, my own uzuk seal to

[1] *A.N.*, II, p. 270, eleventh year. [2] Monserrate, p. 209.

[3] *Maāsir-ud-Umara*, I, p. 685. The author says it was engraved by Maulana 'Alī Ahmad, but it was originally engraved by Maulana Maqsūd and afterwards improved by 'Alī Ahmad (*Ā'īn*, p. 46).

the Amīrul Umarā (Sharīf), but when he was sent off to the province of Behār I made it over to Parvez. Now that Parvez went off against the Rāna, I made it over, according to the former arrangement, to Amīrul Umarā.'[1]

Sir Thomas Roe mentions the influence of Prince Khurram in the matter of farmāns in 1616, but he does not say anything about the seal. Towards the close of the reign, when Jahāngīr was in the custody of Mahābat Khān, there is a reference that he sent his ring to Āsaf Khān with a message not to take the risk of making an attack upon Mahābat; but I do not think that it was the signet ring (uzuk). It must have been his personal ring.[2]

Under Shāh Jahān the account, like that of other similar arrangements, is complete. It was first in the charge of Queen Mumtāz Mahal, and, after the coronation of the king, it was given to Āsaf Khān at the request of the queen herself. When he was sent to the Deccan in the second year it was again handed over to the queen, and he received it back on his return. But when he went for the second time to the Deccan, after the death of the queen, it was given over to Begam Sāhib (the favourite daughter), and after then the seal and the duty of sealing the farmāns remained with her.[3]

Thus as far as the uzuk seal was concerned, it remained, as a rule, in the female apartment. It was only as a favour to Queen Mumtāz Mahal that it was for some time given to her father, who also happened to be the prime minister of the Empire.

Distinctions in farmāns

The study of the royal farmāns and letters reveals an interesting procedure followed by the Mughal

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 8, first year. Rogers, p. 18. (Translation is not accurate.) Roe, p. 97.

[2] *Tuzuk*, p. 404, twenty-first year. The words used are 'angushtarī-i-mubārak'.

[3] Lāhorī, I, p. 406.

emperors in respect of the farmāns issued to persons known to the king or to the ruling princes and feudatories. A farmān, as a rule, was sealed by one of the royal seals, according to the nature of the subject, and the seal was put on the top of the farmān, below which the subject-matter began. During the course of development three marks of distinction were established as a tradition by which the king, according to the rank of the addressee and the extent of favour desired to be bestowed upon him, could exalt him.

First, by putting his signature in addition to the official seal.

Secondly, by adding a line or two at the top in his own hand. Shāh Jahān carried it further, and at times wrote the whole of the farmān himself. It was also done in important matters, irrespective of the favour.

Thirdly, by putting the mark of the royal hand (panja-i-mubārak) on the farmān. The official seal remained at its proper place in every case.

In one of the farmāns addressed to 'Abdul Rahīm Khān Khānān, Akbar put his signatures and addressed him as son, and put the words ('Abdul Rahīm Farzand Bedānad) above the tughrā.[1]

Jahāngīr sent a similar one to his favourite officer Muqarrab Khān, appointing him the governor of Behār,[2] and when in the twelfth year he sent one to 'Ādil Khān, the king of Bijāpūr, at the suggestion of Prince Khurram, he addressed him as farzand (son), and wrote a couplet on the top of the farmān with his own pen.

Shudī ze iltimās-i-Shāh-i-Khurram
Ba Farzandi-i-mā mashhūr-i-'Ālam.

'Thou'st become, at Shāh Khurram's request,
Renowned in the world as my son.'[3]

[1] *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī*, II, p. 113. [2] *Tuzuk*, p. 244, thirteenth year.
[3] *Tuzuk*, p.192. Rogers, p. 388.

In the fourteenth year, when Khān-i-'Ālam returned from his embassy to the Shāh of Persia, Jahāngīr honoured him by sending every day a servant to receive him on his way to the court, and exalted him by writing every time a couplet at the top of the farmān. 'Once I sent him some 'Itri-Jahāngīri (attar of roses) and automatically wrote this verse.'

Ba sūyat faristāda am būye khaish
Ke āram turā zūdtar sūye khaish.[1]

On important occasions he wrote out the entire farmān himself. He wrote one to Prince Khurram, full of affection, in connexion with his success against the Rāna,[2] and one to Prince Parvez, in the seventeenth year, when he summoned him urgently in connexion with Prince Khurram's revolt.[3] Similarly, another one to Prince Khurram in the twentieth year, in reply to his petition during the revolt,[4] and one was also sent to 'Ādil Khān in the eighteenth year, on the suggestion of Mahābat Khān.[5]

Such examples are numerous under Shāh Jahān, as it was his usual practice to add a line or two on all important farmāns, or write out the whole himself.[6] In the first year of the reign he wrote two to Āsaf Khān, when he was at Lāhore,[7] and one in the sixth year to Mahābat Khān.[8]

Muzzaffar Khān, one of the generals of Shāh Jahān, in his collection of letters gives copies of several farmāns received by him. Two[9] of these were entirely written by the king, while the tughrās[10] of the other two were in the royal hand and one had the royal signature.[11]

[1] *Tuzuk.*, p. 284. Rogers, II, p. 115. [2] Lāhorī, I, pp. 141–2.
[3] *Tuzuk*, p. 352. [4] op. cit., p. 397. [5] op. cit., p. 377.
[6] Sālih, I, p. 254. [7] Lāhorī, I, pp. 113–5; and *Tuzuk*, p. 425.
[8] Lāhorī, I, p. 516.
[9] MS. Add. 16,859, F. 3, F. 22b (as avwal tā ākhir ba qalam-i-khās-i-Mubārak).
[10] ibid., F. 16b. [11] ibid., F. 7b.

The mark of the royal hand was the highest distinction, but I have not found any case in which it was put on a farmān to any royal servant, nor have I been able to find any example of its use at all under Akbar, but the cases under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān indicate that it was a practice prior to them, and a reference in Jahāngīr's memoirs about Akbar's panja being engraved on the trunk of a tree in Shaikhūpūr village, in the pargana of Daulatābād, gives a further clue. Jahāngīr had its likeness, together with the mark of his own panja, engraved on a marble plate and placed it on the same spot.[1]

In the ninth year of Jahāngīr's reign, the Rāna of Udaipūr demanded the royal panja as a condition of the treaty into which he entered after his defeat at the hands of Prince Khurram, and the condition was complied with.[2]

Shāh Jahān himself offered it to 'Ādil Khān, the king of Bijāpūr, as a mark of distinction, if he complied with the conditions of the treaty submitted to him; the panja was given and the gist of the farmān, which contained the terms of the treaty, was engraved on a gold plate at the request of 'Ādil Khān, and sent to him as a special mark of favour.[3]

Muzzaffar Khān in one of his letters requests that the panja-i-mubārak be sent to Jagat Singh, against whom he was engaged, 'though the royal farmān was enough yet the panja-i-khāsa-i-shāhan-shāhī is necessary for him as a blessing and exaltation'.[4]

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 178. Rogers, p. 360. 'At the time when my revered father passed by this, he had made an impression of his hand by way of mark at the height of 3¾ gaz from the ground. I ordered them also to make the mark of my hand 8 gaz above another root (it was a huge tree with several roots). In order that these two hand-marks might not be effaced in the course of time, they were carved on a piece of marble and fastened on to the trunk of the tree (and a platform built round it).'

[2] *Tuzuk*, p. 134. [3] Lāhorī, I, p. 124; II, pp. 203–4.

[4] MS. Add. 16,859, F. 20. Probably it refers to the expedition of the fifteenth year of the reign against the fort of Tārāgadh in Kāngrah

The facsimile of Shāh Jahān's panja on a farmān gives a clear idea of the form in which the tughrā[1] on the left, the seal on the right, and the panja on the margin below it, were stamped.[2]

(Panjāb), but Lāhorī does not mention the panja. Hence it is not certain whether it was given to him or not (Lāhorī, II, pp. 285–91, for terms of his surrender).

[1] The tughrā of Shāh Jahān contained these words, 'Abul Muzzaffar Shahāb-ud-dīn Muhammad Sāhib-i-Qirān-i-Sāni', and the same words compose the upper tughrā of the attached farmān.

[2] The facsimile is copied from Plate II (p. 15), in the late E. B. Havell's *Agra and the Tāj*, by kind permission of Mrs. Havell.

PART II

CHAPTER IV

THE MINISTERS

OUTLINE

Theoretical: The Views of Muslim Jurists

Al-Māvardī: Limited and unlimited vizārat.

The position of the vazīr in the State, based on:

1. *Al-Māvardī.*
2. *Ādāb-ul-vizārat.*
3. *Siyāsat Nāma.*
4. *Nasāih-i-Nizāmul Mulk to his son* (a MS.).
5. *Āsār-ul-vuzarā* (a MS. containing views of famous Muslim vazīrs of different kingdoms).

Eligibility of Non-Muslims: generally not favoured in theory.

The Vizārat under the Delhī Sultanate: Its Three Stages

1. Combination of all civil and military powers.
2. Separation of military—vazīrs thrown in the background.
3. Revival of vazīr's prestige, but military kept separate.

The Vikālat of Bairām Khān

A unique position from administrative point of view—greater powers than Al-Māvardī's first class vazīr.

The Determination of the Powers of Vikālat under Akbar

Policy opposed to giving all powers into the hands of one vazīr.

The early adjustments—the vikālat of Atka Khān.

The vikālat of Mun'im—power shaken.

The creation of the post of the dīvān and the separation of revenue and financial powers from vikālat.

The establishment of the powers of the dīvān under Muzzaffar.

The transfer of Mun'im and review of his vikālat—the change in the position of the vakīl definitely established.

The vikālat of Muzzaffar.

The vikālat of Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān and Mirzā 'Azīz Koka.

Vakīls of Jahāngīr: Amir-ul-umarā Sharīf, Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī, and Āsaf Khān Abul Hasan.

Continuance of Āsaf Khān under Shāh Jāhān—the first and the last vakīl of the reign.

The transaction of the work by the vakīl. His work in the dīvān in the early reign of Akbar.

Later on, no responsible work—a post for show and honour.

Vakīls eclipsed by the dīvāns.

Vikālat—an office of rank and dignity but with no power.

List of the vakīls of the Empire.

THE state under an absolute monarchy, like all other forms of government, requires the aid of several brains. Even the most gifted men like Julius Cæsar and Napoleon could not handle the problems of state single-handed. In Northern India, monarchs like Balban and 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī who believed in centralizing all power in one hand, and controlled the administrative machinery personally, had to feel the need of ministers and to show respect to them. Under every form of despotism, the existence of a body of ministers or a council of advisers becomes indispensable.

The Hindū state in Northern India had a council of eight, and by the political thinkers of the age, it was considered inseparable from the monarchy. 'A king without a minister cannot govern his kingdom even for three days.'[1] The 'Council of Eight' of the epic age continued with the monarchy. Kautīlya thought that it should consist of ministers, and 'wise men' could be consulted on occasions. 'The number varied in practice as in theory. Probably, generalizing from experience, Manū counselled twelve, Brihaspatī sixteen, and Usuanas twelve. Their successor Kautīlya only laid down that the council should consist of as many members as the needs of the state rendered desirable. Roughly the numerical strength varied from twelve to twenty.'[2] The council was definitely an advisory body, and acted under the king and the chief minister of the state. The chief minister, in the words of Dr. Benī Prasad, resembled 'the Norman Angevin Chancellor, the Turkish Grand Vizier, and more

[1] *Sāntīparvan*, *vide* Benī Prasad, *Theory*, p. 47.

[2] Benī Prasad, *Theory*, p. 125.

than anything else, the Vakīl of the Indian Mughals'.[1]

The vazīr

Under the Muslim monarchies, the term used for the council or body of ministers is vizārat. But the idea of vizārat, under them, was primarily the idea of one vazīr only; and the Muslim jurists have dealt with the problem pre-eminently from this standpoint. In the words of Al-Fakhrī, 'the vazīr is one who is intermediate between the king and his subjects, so there must needs be in his nature one aspect which accords with the nature of kings, and another aspect which accords with the nature of the common folk, so that he may deal with both classes in such a manner as to secure for himself their acceptance and affection. . . .' 'Lexicographers say that wizr means "a place of refuge", "an asylum", and that wazar means "burden" so that wazīr is either derived from wazar, in which case it means that "he bears the burden", or from wizr, in which case it means that the king has recourse to his judgement and counsel.'[2]

His position

The Muslim jurists, and notably Al-Māvardī mention two kinds of vizārat: (*a*) the unlimited vizārat and (*b*) the limited vizārat.[3] The vazīr with unlimited powers, commonly called Grand Vazīr, was 'the major-domo and *alter ego* of the caliph'. He wielded all the sovereign power, and was only required to inform his sovereign of all he had done. He had the power of appointing officers in the name of the caliph. He sat as a final court of appeal in lawsuits. But he could neither appoint his representative or successor nor remove or transfer an officer appointed by the caliph.

The powers of the limited vazīr were not so

[1] Benī Prasad, *Theory*, p. 127.

[2] Browne, *Lit. Hist.*, I, p. 256, ed. 1909. Ibn-i-Khaldūn, Tr. p. 97.

[3] Al-Māvardī, Fr. tr., p. 197, '*Vézirat de délégation et vézirat d'exécution*'.

extensive. He had no initiative power. He simply carried out the orders of the sovereign. 'He was merely the intermediary between the ruler and the people.' But his presence near the caliph, and all orders passing through his hands and receiving an official character through his seal or signature, gave him sufficient importance in the state. Von Kremer is of opinion that the limited vizārat was 'the original form of this institution and that only with the increasing decline and decay of the authority of the caliph did the unlimited wazīr step into light. As affairs at the court of Baghdād grew worse and worse, the more luxuriously did the buds unfold and the leaves grow of adventurous ambition'.[1]

The number of vazīrs

The Arab jurists do not favour the appointment of several vazīrs of unlimited power, but in cases of vast empires and pressure of work, they consider it permissible, provided the scope of their work and their powers were fully defined or they acted 'collectively as one administrative unit'.[2]

Thus in theory the jurists favour the idea of one powerful vazīr for the absolute monarch. Other officers would act as heads of different departments under the direction and the supervision of the vazīr. It leaves no room for the existence of more than one vazīr of equal status, sharing equal responsibility in the administration.

In a saying attributed to Mā'mūn,[3] the four important instruments of government are (1) an honourable qāzī, (2) a just chief of the police,[4] (3) a

[1] Kremer, *The Orient under the Caliphs*, Tr., p. 226. Al-Māvardī, Fr. tr., p. 198. *Sulūk-ul-Múlūk*, Br. Mus. MS., Or. 253, Fs. 17–18.

[2] Kremer, Tr. p. 225. Al-Māvardī, Fr. Tr., p. 221.

[3] Al-Māvardī, Fr. tr., p. 199.

[4] Sāhib-us-shurtah—commander of the royal bodyguard and later on an important courtier. (*Ibn Athīr and Ibn-i-khaldūn*, *vide* Kremer, p. 226.)

In *Qānūn Nāmah*, the fundamental laws of the Turks, the four

business-like finance minister, and (4) a trustworthy postmaster.

The position of the vazīr in the state

The vast powers of the grand vazīr carried with them the vast responsibilities of the office which made his position extremely delicate. He was required to possess all the arts of an accomplished courtier, besides technical knowledge of the various branches of the administration.[1]

The author of *Ādāb-ul-Vizārat* says that the vazīr is the second king in the state and his duties are more difficult to perform than those of the king, because the king enjoys a dignity which is a screen before him. None can approach him, none can be rude to him. The vazīr possesses no such screen. The stability of the kingdom is attributed to the ruler and its disintegration to the vazīr. Hence a vazīr should be wise like a philosopher, simple like a villager, cautious in spending like a trader, and brave like a warrior.[2]

The maxims laid down by jurists for the guidance

pillars of the government are the vazīr, the Qāzi-i-'Asker, the finance minister (Dafterdar), and the secretary (Nishānjī). Thus the number of vazīrs is four, but the Grand Vazīr exists over them, who has the royal seal in his possession. (Khudā Bakhsh, *vide* Jonquière, *L'Empire Ottoman*, p. 181.)

In *Ādāb-ul-Vizārat*, the chief officers necessary for the proper administration of the government are Vazīr, Amīr-i-Dād, Vakīl-i-Dar, Amīr-i-Hājib, Mushrif, 'Āriz, Sāhib-i-Barīd. The Vazīr is the head of the government. The author says that if honest, efficient and God-fearing men are appointed to these posts, the subjects will be happy, the country well-populated, the treasury full, the army strong and the enemies subdued. (Br. Mus. MS., Fs. 19–20).

For the chief departments, see Amīr 'Alī, *History of the Saracens*, pp. 414–21.

[1] The Arabs expected a great deal from him. He had to be conversant with the games of chess and polo and also expected to play the guitar, and to be proficient in mathematics, medicine, astrology, poetry, grammar and history and, finally, in the recitation of poems, and narration of tales. (Kremer, p. 22.)

[2] Fs. 20–1.

of the vazīr also give an idea of the chief duties attached to his office. He is expected to regulate the policy of the state in connexion with (*a*) populating the country, (*b*) equipping the army, (*c*) fixing the sources of revenue, and (*d*) making the life of the subjects easy.

Secondly, he should consolidate the finances of the state by spending wisely, and keeping sufficient in reserve for emergencies.

Thirdly, he should be prepared to meet the enemy by

(*a*) keeping the roads safe and in good condition,
(*b*) maintaining a well-organized army,
(*c*) making all weapons and instruments of warfare,
(*d*) keeping different groups of people and servants of the state in their proper places.

Fourthly, he should also look to the means of improving the resources and averting the dangers, by (*a*) increasing the revenues without any hardship or injury to the cultivator because 'land is regarded as the treasury of the ruler, and its key in the hands of the obedient peasant'; (*b*) extending the boundaries of the state. This can be achieved, either through diplomacy or through force. Diplomacy is preferred to war, but readiness for war is also essential, because 'large armies are not overpowered by the diplomacy of the wise'.

The dangers to the state consist in (1) internal disturbances which may result either from the negligence, or the incapacity of those responsible for the maintenance of peace; (2) the decline of the revenues of the state, which may be due either to the power and the turbulence of the peasants, or to their destitute condition and incapacity to pay.

In either case the remedy is essential.

Thus the vazīr regulates policy and controls the army and finances. However, it is to be noted that

the author of *Ādāb-ul-Vizārat* does not attribute any judicial powers to him. They are reserved for āmīr-i-dād and sāhib-i-barīd, as far as their duties and qualifications given by him suggest.[1] Nizām-ul-Mulk lays more emphasis upon the qualities and the vigilance of the ruler than upon the all-pervading vazīr. He thinks that it is the duty of the ruler to look to and supervise every branch of the administration, appoint suitable persons to all posts,[2] and to be constantly in touch with them. However, the importance of the vazīr is not ignored. 'If the vazīr is upright and well-intentioned the country will be well populated, and the army and the people satisfied and contented.' Hence it is necessary that rulers should inquire into the work of the vazīr, and see how he performs his duties.[3]

The vast powers entrusted to the vazīr carried with the office equally vast responsibilities, and his position was the most delicate in the state. As Al-Fakhrī points out, he had to deal, on the one hand with the king, and on the other with the people; thus he had to combine in his person qualities acceptable to both. Besides these, he had to deal with another, and equally important element: the officers of the state, who had access to the king and were at the same time in direct touch with the people. Muslim jurists fully realized the difficulties of his task and the delicacy of his position and they have devoted much thought to the problem and laid down maxims for his guidance.

[1] Fs. 19–20.

[2] This point is emphasized also in *Ādāb-ul-Vizārat*, F. 18, and is graphically put in *Sāntīparvan* 'Every servant should be appointed to the job for which he is fit. If a dog is placed in a situation above his proper reach, he is intoxicated with pride' . . . 'A lion should always make a companion of a lion. Associated with a pack of dogs, a lion fails miserably in its duties.' (CXIX, 3–9, and 11–12.) Benī Prasad, *Theory*, p. 49.

[3] *Siyāsat Nāma*, p. 18.

The advice given by Nizām-ul-Mulk to his son for the discharge of the duties of vizārat are very instructive, and they deal primarily with his position in relation to the king, the people and the ministers. He lays down that a vazīr should keep his eye on four sides, towards God, the king, the persons near him, and the general public.[1] Thus he has to fear God, and remember that he will be answerable for all his actions to Him. He has to please the ruler to maintain his position, guard himself against those who by the privilege of their high position have access to him, and look to the needs of the public at large.

The most useful and valuable advice is contained in the following maxim of Ādāb:

'He (the vazīr) should be attentive to the king so that he may be exalted. He should be friendly with the members of the government so that he may not fall from office. He should be kind to the subjects so that they may become attached to him, and not carried away by his enemies.'[2]

Eligibility of non-Muslims to the vizārat

Al-Māvardī is considered the first Muslim jurist who expressed the view that non-Muslims were eligible for the post of the vazīr of the second class, because in his case positive knowledge of law and theology could be dispensed with. He acted under the king or the chief vazīr and was not required to act on his own initiative. This view is strongly opposed by an Egyptian writer, Ibn Jamā'ah, who thinks that only those offices which were connected

[1] MS. Br. Mus. Or. 256, Fs. 43–4.

[2] MS. *Āsārul-Vuzarā* also includes advice of the same nature. General maxims, pp. 1–8. Guiding principles based upon the advice of Rashīd-ud-dīn to his son Amir 'Alī (p. 379), and to another son Jalāl-ud-dīn (pp. 390–400), include nineteen points from the military duties of jihād to the respect of the ulamās and the upkeep of the mosques, besides administrative duties (in the chapter of the vazīrs of Changez and his successors). Rashīd was himself a vazīr for twenty years and had fourteen sons all employed in different posts of the state.

with the collection of the capitation tax or toll levied upon non-Muslims could be entrusted to non-Muslims. Ibn-i-Khaldūn is also opposed to Al-Māvardī, but his objections are based on political rather than religious grounds, and he feels that non-Muslims cannot have that regard for the glory of the nation and the stability of the kingdom, which must result from common interests, common sympathy, and common sentiment.

But in practice non-Muslims were appointed to the vizārat in Muslim states, even in Egypt.[1]

The vizārat in the Delhī sultanate

The above sketch of the duties and powers of the vazīr shows the importance of the institution under the Muslim monarchies. Kremer says: 'In the East, in Turkey, Mongolia, Persià, etc., it has remained precisely the same.'[2] Mahmūd of Ghaznī had an administrative machinery of the same type, and his vazīrs[3] enjoyed his confidence and respect in his kingdom.

Thus the Turks came to India with a considerable experience of the practical working of the institution of vizārat; and its existence in the sultanate is traceable from its establishment as an independent power; and the office had the same importance which the name of the institution signified.[4]

The vizārat under the sultanate passed through three different stages. The first, which ended with the rise of Balban to the deputyship, was the period in which the vazīrs enjoyed full civil and military powers and wielded considerable influence in the

[1] Amir 'Alī, *History of the Saracens*, p. 413. Kremer, Tr., p. 225. Scattered examples can also be seen in *The Caliph and the Non-Muslims*, chapter II.

[2] Tr., p. 226.

[3] Abul 'Abbās Fazal, Abul Qāsim Ahmad, and Hasnak.

[4] 'Ain-ul-Mulk Junaidī was the vazīr of Sultan Shams-ud-dīn (*Tabaqāt*, p. 179). He opposed Rizzyat (p. 186). 'Ain-ul-Mulk Husain Ash'arī the vazīr of Nāsir-ud-dīn Qabāchah became the vazīr of Ruknud-dīn (*Tabaqāt*, p. 182).

kingdom. Khvāja Nizām-ul-Mulk Junaidī and Muhazzab were conspicuous in this period,[1] and they remained unaffected by the creation of the office of the nāib (deputy) to the king.[2]

The second period, which continued till the fall of the Khaljī dynasty, was the period in which the vazīrs were entirely thrown into the background, firstly, by the all-dominating deputy Balban who continued his policy after his accession to the throne as well; secondly, by the separation of the military department from the vizārat; and thirdly, by the policy of 'Alā-ud-dīn who centralized all power in his own hands. Malik Kāfūr, in the latter days of 'Alā-ud-dīn, and Khusrau, under Mubārak Shāh, dominated the affairs of the kingdom as nāibs, and all the three nāibs of this period can be said to have exercised the powers of the first class vazīr of Al-Māvardī, but the power they wielded was not the power of the vazīr. Their office was quite distinct from that of the vazīr, and their existence, as such, did not give the vazīrs of their time a chance to assert themselves even under the weak kings like Kaiqubād and Mubārak Shāh.[3]

The third period covered the rule of the Tughluq dynasty. The founder of the line raised the status of his vazīrs, but did not restore to them their lost

[1] Both the vazīrs were responsible for the changes of monarchs after the death of Shams-ud-dīn. Muhazzab was so powerful that all amīrs combined against him and he was finally deposed and murdered. 'Bar mumlakat istīlātamām yāft va jumla kārhā az dast-i-umarā-i-turk berūn burda.' (*Tabaqāt*, p. 198. Tr. Raverty, p. 663.)

[2] Ikhtiyārud-dīn and Malik Kutb-ud-dīn Husain Ghorī were the nāibs.

[3] Khvāja Hasan Basarī, the vazīr of Balban, is not even mentioned by Barnī among the prominent personalities of his reign, while 'Imādul Mulk, the dīvān-i-'arz, is very conspicuous (p. 112–23). Khvāja Khatīr-ud-dīn was noted for efficiency and capacity in the Khaljī dynasty, and was highly respected by the first two rulers of the line. Nasrat Khān was also prominent, but the powers of both were limited to their own departments.

powers. The military remained separate under the dīvān-i-'arz, as in the second period. His instructions to both the heads of departments clearly show the division of the functions of vizārat and his determination to maintain them. Sultān Muhammad Tughluq's remark, that he had no such vazīr who could save him from shedding blood, fully illustrates the position his vazīrs occupied, but all the same he had a great respect for his vazīr Khvāja Jahān.

Firūz appointed Maqbūl Khān Jahān, the assistant vazīr of the previous reign, as his vazīr. The capacity, the loyalty, and the devotion to work for which Maqbūl was noted gave him the first position in the state. The sultān himself used to say that Khān Jahān (Maqbūl) was the real ruler of Delhī.[1] The contemporary author 'Afīf says that in accordance with the principles laid down in *Qābūs Nāma*, the sultān never addressed anyone else in the open darbār when the vazīr was present there. Every order and every message was communicated through him. But with all the respect shown to him, his powers were limited to his own department.[2] The dīvān-i-'arz was held by an equally powerful and trusted minister, 'Imād-ul-Mulk.

Thus by the time of Fīrūz the administrative machinery of the central government was fully developed and powers of different officers clearly defined. The vazīr had become the head of the revenue and finance, and ceased to be the chief

[1] *'Afīf*, p. 400.
The reins of government have been given into his hands.
The whole country has been placed under him.

Dād ast zamām-i-mulk ū rā
Bispurda tamām-i-mulk ū rā

[2] *Afīf*, p. 412. His powers in his own department were defined in the case of 'Ain-ul-Mulk Ashrāf-i-Mamālik, who quarrelled with him and was removed from his office.

executive officer of the state, dominating all its affairs. This position determined his necessary qualifications, and the technical knowledge which his office now required made him eminently a man of the pen (sāhib-i-qalam) as against a man of the sword (sāhib-i-saif). Military efficiency ceased to be the necessary qualification for the post.

During the period of anarchy that set in after Fīrūz, there could be no question of the division of functions or powers.[1] In the system of the Lodīs in which the Afghān nobles and fief-holders dominated the administration, there remained no scope for the ministers and their work.

Bābar and Humāyūn came to India with the tradition of one vazīr in the state; and Nizām-ud-dīn Khalīfa, under the one, and Amīr Vais and Hindū Beg, under the other, should be considered to have occupied the same position. They held the charge of all civil and military affairs and took an active part in the field. The conditions under them favoured this system.

Sher Shāh believed in centralizing all power in his own hands, and the condition of the Delhī sultanate under the later Tughluqs and Saiyids must have afforded a sufficient warning to the prudent monarch. Besides principles of policy and personal inclinations, the political conditions also demanded his personal attention and vigilance over every branch of his administration and, therefore, he conducted his own government.[2]

Bairām Khān

The conquest of Hindustān by Humāyūn for the second time, and his death within a few months after the victory, left the country and the ruling dynasty

[1] *Tarīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, pp. 167, 175, 213, 254 and 262, gives some idea of the vazīrs, their position and activities, notably of Sarvar-ul-Mulk and Kamāl-ul-Mulk in this period.

[2] Mr. Qānūngo is justified in his remark that Sher Shāh's ministers were mere secretaries who only attended to the routine work (*Sher Shāh*, p. 359).

in a very uncertain condition. It was only the personality of Bairām Khān which established peace in the country and saved the dynasty; but from the administrative point of view Bairām Khān's five years' regime presents a unique example in the history of Northern India. He acted as a tutor (atālīq) of the minor king and the prime minister of the kingdom (vakīl-i-saltanat). He exercised all sovereign powers in the name of the king and controlled the affairs of the state. The king was 'behind the veil', and the rule was that of the vakīl.

Appointments and dismissals of highest officers

He was virtually the Grand Vazīr or the first class vazīr of Al-Māvardī. He appointed and dismissed the highest officers of the state at his will. Pīr Muhammad Nāsir-ul-Mulk acted as his nāib; the revenue and finance matters were left to him. Abul Fazl says that he was not only Bairām's vakīl (representative) but virtually 'the vakīl of the sultanate'.[1] He was removed by him, and though the action was not approved by Akbar, he did not interfere.[2] The order of dismissal sent to Nāsir-ul-Mulk by Bairām Khān clearly illustrates his position as Prime Minister of the state. 'You were wearing the dress of a poor scholar when you came to Qandhār. As you appeared simple and honest and did good service you were raised to high office by *me*, and from being a mullā you became a leader of armies. As your capacity was small, you easily became intoxicated, and got out of hand after one cup. . . . It is better that for some time you should draw in your feet under the blanket of disappointment, and sit down in a corner . . . for this is good both for yourself and for the world. Thereafter whatever *we* shall determine with regard to you will be carried out.'[3]

[1] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 90.

[2] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 132.

[3] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 131. A.F. attributes it to Bairām's personal grievance, and he strongly supports Nāsir-ul-Mulk, p. 130.

Shaikh Gadāī was appointed by him the head of the ecclesiastical department in preference to all Saiyids and he was given an undue importance in political matters, in preference to all high and old amīrs.[1]

Capital punishments

Bairām Khān set aside his rivals by capital punishments and imprisonment, and simply informed the king of what he had done. The most conspicuous case was that of Tardī Beg who held the charge of Delhī when Hemū attacked it. After the deed was done, Bairām simply sent a message to Akbar through his assistant, representing that 'the cause of his presumption was solely his devotion to the throne. . . . He was much ashamed of his presumption in not taking permission. . . . He hoped that he would approve of him with the glance of pardon so that other evil doers might take warning.'[2]

Award of jāgīrs

He not only awarded jāgirs at his own discretion, but gave a chance of complaint to Akbar himself that his servants were neglected by the vakīl.[3]

Administrative changes

He sat in the Dīvān-i-khās twice a week, and put civil and military affairs anew into proper order, and he did what Al-Māvardī would have liked him to do, 'whatever was fixed upon there. . . was humbly represented to the Shāhin Shāh,'[4] and it was considered enough.

Not only did he exercise all the powers of the Grand Vazīr, but went a step farther and directly

[1] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 132. His appointment and rise is strongly criticized in Akbar's farmān issued at Bairām's removal from office, pp. 161–2.

[2] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 53.

[3] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 162. 'To his own menial servants, whose conditions and qualities were well-known, he gave the titles . . . and presented them with . . . rich fiefs and productive territories whilst he . . . made the Khāns, the princes, the officers and the trusted servants . . . whose rank, claims and qualifications are known to every one, to be in want of even dry bread.'

[4] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 104. These matters refer to new regulations and not to routine work.

interfered in the personal matters of the king. He opposed his marriage proposal to the daughter of M. 'Abdullah Khān Mughal and it was only when 'Nāsir-ul-Mulk gave him to understand that opposition in such matters was very unacceptable' that he consented to it.[1] On one occasion, he got the elephant driver of Akbar put to death because of his own personal grievance, 'though he was innocent', and on another he had all the elephants of the royal stable distributed among the amīrs.[2]

Interference in king's personal matters

There is no parallel in the history of Northern India of this position and power of the vazīr. Though Bairām Khān's services to the ruling family and the newly established kingdom of the Mughals cannot be ignored yet the events of his regime conclusively show that, after having got the strings of power into his hands, he failed to rise above the level of an ordinary administrator, and some of his actions were beyond doubt based on personal considerations, apart from political exigencies, or the needs of the state. By his lack of tact and statesmanship he failed to retain the confidence of the king and win the support either of the nobility or of the public. He directed his eye neither towards the king, nor towards those who sat near him (his colleagues) nor towards the people in general, as required by the Muslim jurists for the success of a vazīr. His position became untenable and he was removed from office, and in spite of his loyalty, long service, and devotion to Humāyūn and Akbar, he remains condemned for his short-sightedness. His case was one more warning against the unrestricted use of a vazīr's power in the kingdom.[3]

[1] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 88. Bairām regarded 'Abdullah as Kamrān's partisan.

[2] *A.N.*, II. Bev., pp. 139–40.

[3] Abul Fazl's judgement on him is very just and accurate:

'Bairām Khān who regarded himself as unique in the age in regard

The Vakīl and his Position

Akbar's reign is a period of evolution and development of all the institutions which can be termed Mughal. Hence it is desirable to trace step by step the determination of the position of the vazīr of the Empire and the division of functions and powers generally associated with the institution of vizārat.

Akbar had the advantage of the experience of three hundred years of Muslim rule in the country, and it goes to his credit that he did not ignore it. Like the problems of maintaining peace in the vast area of the northern plains, the problem of vizārat of the great Empire also presented difficulties. Akbar's personal experience of Bairām's vikālat was a sufficient warning against placing all powers in the hands of one vazīr. Bairām's position can be compared to the deputyship of Balban, Malik Kāfur and Khusrau. Though they all differ from each other, as far as their administrative capacities are concerned, two things are common to them. All four were military leaders and had full charge of military power in the state. All of them dominated the affairs of the state, and it was not easy to shake them off. Balban succeeded his master to the throne, Malik Kāfur prepared the way for himself, and set aside his master's heir to the throne. Khusrau, in his turn, murdered his own master to fulfil his ambition. Whatever be the circumstances or causes that led Bairām to take up arms after his removal from office, his position was not shaken except by recourse to arms. In the light of these experiences, the deputyship of the sultanate or the vikālat of Bairām Khān was out of the question under Akbar,

to courage, administrative abilities, devotion and sincerity, and who in consequence of a crowd of flatterers had got the belief that the affairs of India could not be managed without him, took from the bad advice of short-sighted associates, the path of destruction and did shameful deeds, such as should not have come from him.' (*A.N.*, II, p. 138.)

and it is evident from the events which followed that Akbar started with this definite idea.

The division of power and the distinctions held by Bairām

Immediately after the suspension of the powers of Bairām Khān, 'political and financial affairs' were placed under the charge of Shihāb-ud-dīn (governor of Delhī), and afterwards 'Māham Anga was joined with him'.[1] Shams-ud-dīn Atka Khān[2] was given Bairām Khān's standard, drum, and tumantogh.

Mun'im Khān,[3] who arrived from Kābul, was given the title of Khān-Khānān, and the office of vikālat was also entrusted to him.[4] Thus the powers and distinctions of Bairām Khān were divided and given to three different persons. This step was a definite indication of the tendency which was to follow.

The early adjustments

The position held by Māham Anga and Shihāb-ud-dīn, and the part played by them in the affair of Bairām Khān, were sure to make them expect high power and influence and prestige under Akbar. But Mun'im held the highest rank in the kingdom and he could not be ignored. Thus his position was recognized, and, at the same time Māham and her party were deprived of the instrument which might have proved dangerous.

Mun'im was an experienced veteran and he realized the situation in which he was placed. He attached himself to Māham, and thus not only silenced the opposition but gained the support of a party which he, as a fresh comer, needed at the court.

A few months later Atka Khān petitioned that

[1] *A.N.*, II. Bev., pp. 143–4, and 174.

[2] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 174. *M.U.*, II, p. 531. He was an old servant of Akbar and held the Panjāb.

[3] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 174. *M.U.*, p. 534. He held Kābul loyally.

[4] During the same period Bahādur Khān, brother of 'Ali Qulī, was made vakīl to silence the opposition of his party to Shihāb-ud-dīn. This was done by Māham as a political move and she continued to work with him also. When Bahādur's party was won over, he was given a *jāgīr* in Etāvah and sent there (pp. 150–1).

after the service he had rendered against Bairām Khān, he expected that this office would be conferred upon him along with other distinctions already bestowed upon him. His petition was accepted and the office of vikālat was conferred upon him.

The vikālat of Atka Khān

Thus the office passed to three different men within a year, which was sufficient proof of the power of the king and his freedom to use it.

Atka Khān's appointment not only deprived Mun'im of his office, but Māham and her party of all power and influence, because, as Abul Fazl says, 'he (Mun'im) was the ostensible vakīl who sat on the masnad and Māham Anga . . . regarded herself as the substantial Prime Minister'. Thus two parties were formed at the court and the antagonism was fanned by the rashness of Adham Khān, who one day entered the Daulat Khāna, where Atka Khān was conducting the state business, and had him stabbed by a band of his excited followers. This act of rashness put an end to the life of Adham Khān also, and, later on, to Māham Anga's, who could not survive the shock of the death of her son. Mun'im and Shihāb-ud-dīn fled from the court and thus they themselves confessed their guilt.

This incident not only disposed of the party but also decided the issue. The power of the king was definitely established, and the manner in which Akbar exercised it by promptly punishing Adham Khān for his impudence definitely showed that he meant to rule.[1]

The vikālat of Mun'im Khān

Akbar further showed his tact and statesmanship by pardoning Mun'im for his part in the incident. Mun'im and Shihāb-ud-dīn were not only pardoned but again restored to office. Mun'im was made vakīl

[1] Prof. Ram Prasad Tripathi has very lucidly dealt with the position of Māham Anga in his article in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. I, and shown that if she had any ambitions she was made to feel her position and that she never dominated Akbar.

for the second time. Thus the veteran was not sacrificed but fully utilized at a time when the services of every experienced and loyal officer were needed to consolidate the new kingdom. Though Mun'im occupied the office, the prestige attached to it was gone.

At this stage Atka Khān and Mun'im Khān exercised full power in 'the management of affairs, political and financial, and disposed of matters relating to the army and the civil population',[1] and they were the real heads of the government in their term of office.

The creation of the post of dīvān

In the eighth year of the reign Muzzaffar Khān was appointed as dīvān, and thus the revenue and financial matters were separated from the office of the vakīl, and a further blow was given to its power and prestige.

The appointment of a person brought out from prison to this post was another assertion of power in the matter of appointments to the vizārat.[2]

In the ninth year, when Akbar led an expedition in Mālva, he took Mun'im with him and 'left the affairs of the government under Muzzaffar and Khvāja Jahān'.[3] This step was necessary to give the new minister a free hand and full scope for work. Khvāja Jahān acted as his colleague and had the charge of the seal.

Joint colleagues

In the eleventh year, when Akbar went against Mirzā Hakīm in the Panjāb, Mun'im Khān was left in charge of Āgra, but Muzzaffar was not placed under him. Their functions were defined and they were independent of each other. Mun'im held the

[1] *A.N.*, II, p. 230.

[2] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 306. *M.U.*, III, p. 221. He was a partisan of Bairām and was imprisoned. In spite of the insistence of some of the amīrs Akbar did not take his life. He was released, given the charge of a pargana, made dīvān-i-buyūtāt and finally the chief dīvān.

[3] *A.N.*, II, p. 229.

government of the capital, Muzzaffar attended to his usual duties of the dīvān.[1]

The position of Khvāja Jahān as a minister is not definitely established, and no office appears to have been assigned to him. He had the charge of the seal, and there are only two references to his connexions with the affairs of government which show that he acted with Muzzaffar as colleague.[2] Besides this, a casual reference under the revolt of 'Alī Qulī Khān reveals that he held a considerable influence at the court, and had an equal share in the administration of affairs with the vakīl and the dīvān.[3]

Establishment of the position of the dīvān

In the same year Mun'im Khān, together with Muzzaffar and Khvāja Jahān, negotiated peace terms with 'Alī Qulī at Karrah. The presence of all the three ministers at one place appears to have created some complication. Muzzaffar reported against his colleagues. He became 'suspicious of Mun'im Khān' and 'explained the double dealings of the grandees', as a result of which Lashkar Khān, the mīr bakhshī who was also involved in the affair, was removed from office. Khvāja Jahān also lost his position. The seal was taken from him, and he was ordered to proceed to Mecca.[4] But, once again, regard was shown to Mun'im's position and he was

[1] *A.N.*, II, p. 276.

[2] *A.N.*, II, pp. 229 and 259.

Khvāja Jahān wa Muzzaffar Khān ān ja (Agra) ba intizām i Kārgāh i saltanat ishtighāl dāshtand.

Khvāja Jahān ke madār i muhimmāt i saltanat ba rāi zarrīn-i-ū būd.

[3] *A.N.*, II, p. 259. Mun'im and Muzzaffar were conducting peace negotiations with 'Alī Qulī at Karrah (Allahabad). 'Alī Qulī insisted that Khvāja Jahān should also be present at the meeting. His request was forwarded to the king, who sent Khvāja Jahān for his satisfaction, because 'the affairs of state were managed by his counsels'. Khvāja Jahān was highly intelligent, and an expert in financial matters. He acted as a bakhshī of Akbar before his accession to the throne, and was his trusted servant. *M.U.*, I, p. 631.

[4] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 401. *M.U.*, I, p. 631. He was afterwards pardoned but not restored to office.

not injured, but the open punishment of his partisans was a sufficient injury to his prestige and Abul Fazl's remark is conclusive on the point. 'The severity used towards these men . . . caused greater circumspection on the part of Mun'im Khān. The reputation of Muzzaffar was increased.'[1]

Transfer of Mun'im Khān to Bengāl

After the conclusion of the affair of 'Alī Qulī, Mun'im was given a jāgīr in Jaunpūr,[2] and asked to look to the affairs of the east. He left the capital in the twelfth year of the reign and remained engaged in Behār and Bengāl till the close of his life.

The transfer of Mun'im from the political centre ended his career as vakīl of the Empire. He lost all connexion with the affairs of the central government, and continued in the service of the state only as a military general, placed in charge of the expedition and the government of the newly conquered territory. The rank and position which he held was personal and he continued to enjoy it till the end of his life.

Review of his vikālat

Mun'im's career as a vakīl was extremely unsuccessful. During the first term of his office, he placed himself entirely in the hands of Māham Anga and her party, and by his weakness and complication in the murder of Atka Khān, brought discredit to his office and position. Akbar realized his weakness, and after appointing Muzzaffar as the dīvān, he always tried to keep Mun'im away from the capital. Finally his transfer to the east was a very wise measure. His presence at the court after the Karrah affair might have led to further complications and created a division in the higher rank of nobles. He was removed from the centre of politics to a quarter where his capacity as a military general was utilized to the utmost advantage, and he also

[1] *A.N.*, II. Bev., p. 401.

[2] His jāgīr extended from Jaunpūr to the Chausa river including Benāres and Ghāzīpur (*A.N.*, III, p. 298).

got a chance to regain his lost prestige and leave a name behind him.

The career of Mun'im also determined the position of the vakīl in the Empire. He ceased to be the chief moving spirit of the state and the motive power of the administrative machinery. The revenue and finance were separated from the office and placed under an officer who eclipsed the vakīl. However, his position as the first man in the state continued, and he held the highest rank, but his influence in the state, from this time on, depended not on his office, but upon his personality, the conditions of the time, and the atmosphere of the court. The power was gone but the show of power and marks of outward distinction and prestige were retained.

Akbar continued this policy and the office could not regain its power. After the transfer of Mun'im, the office was not filled for seven years. It was in the nineteenth year that Muzzaffar's services were recognized and he was raised to the vikālat.[1] He combined the offices of the vikālat and the dīvān, but he could not enjoy the honour long. The proposed reforms in the jāgīr system regarding the branding of horses were put before him. He refused to accept them or carry them out. Hence he fell from favour and went out of office the same year.

Vikālat of Muzzaffar with the Rāja and Mansūr as joint dīvāns

It was after two years of meritorious services rendered by Muzzaffar in the field in Behār that he was again summoned to the court and the vikālat was bestowed upon him. At this time Rāja Todar Mal and Shāh Mansūr were acting jointly as dīvān. Both of them were ordered to act in consultation with him.[2] Thus Muzzaffar, like Mun'im, was the head of the ministry but other ministers were not his subordinates. They were his colleagues who acted with him and approached the king through him.

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 68. [2] *A.N.*, III, pp. 141–2.

Muzzaffar remained in office for two years and the ministry worked efficiently till Muzzaffar was transferred to Bengāl, in the beginning of the twenty-fourth year. His transfer, like that of Mun'im, ended his career as the vakīl of the Empire, and he ceased to have any connexion with the administrative affairs of the central government.

Muzzaffar was the last of Akbar's vakīls who exercised some influence over the administration and wielded power, but his position was purely personal and the respect which Akbar showed to him was due to his capacity, loyalty, and efficient service both in the field and in the ministry, and not to his office.

In the thirty-fourth year, the office was conferred upon Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān, but it was more a favour and a mark of distinction for his attachment to the king from his boyhood than the conferment of any real power. Accordingly, the honour was shortlived; he was deputed to the Qandhār expedition and the work of the dīvān continued under Khvāja Shams-ud-dīn.[1]

In the fortieth year Khān-i-Ā'Zam Mirzā 'Azīz Koka, the favourite companion and the old playmate of Akbar, was appointed the vakīl of the Empire. Though he wielded an immense influence with the king and throughout his career was very much cared for by him, he does not appear to have exercised any influence in the administration of the affairs of the Empire. As father-in-law of Khusrau, he was one of those who were opposed to Jahāngīr's accession, and he definitely spoke to Akbar in this connexion, but no heed was paid to his suggestion. Thus as a partisan he must have lost much of his position. Though he continued to occupy the office till the death of Akbar, his name does not appear at all in

Vikālat of Khān-i-Ā'Zam

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 571. Though deputed to Qandhār, he worked in Sindh, remained engaged in its conquest and was not given charge of the office, even after his return.

connexion with any administrative measure of the period.

Thus like the vikālat of Khān Khānān, his term of office was also more for show and personal dignity than for any real power or substantial work.[1]

Thus, after the transfer of Mun'im in the twelfth year, the vikālat was held by Muzzaffar and Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān for about three years and by Khān-i-Ā'Zam for ten years during the remaining thirty-eight years of Akbar's reign.

The policy of Akbar was followed by his successors in this matter also, and none of the later vakīls appears to have regained that power or influence which a prime minister under an absolute monarchy would be expected to wield.

Sharīf was given the highest grade and the highest available title of amīr-ul-umarā[2] and all the distinctions of standard, drum and tumantogh, which were held by Bairām Khān, were bestowed upon him. He might have been expected to revive the powers of the vikālat under Jahāngīr, but in the second year of the reign he became seriously ill, and a fresh appointment became necessary.

Āsaf Khān was appointed to the post and given the same grade of five thousand, and Jahāngīr showed favour to his new vakīl by accepting his invitation for dinner and going to his house with his family and nobles.[3]

It appears that Sharīf recovered from his illness and joined the court, but he never regained his normal health and Jahāngīr says that he had entirely lost his memory. 'Whatever was said to him he

[1] *A.N.*, III. *M.U.*, I, p. 685. He also held the great royal seal (not uzuk seal), and was with the king in the siege of the fort of Asīrgarh.

[2] The title of Khān Khānān could not be conferred as it was held by Abdur Rahīm.

[3] *Tuzuk*, p. 50. Mu'tamad Khān, p. 28. Āsaf Khān (Ja'far Beg Qazvīnī).

forgot in a moment.'[1] Hence Āsaf Khān continued in office, but, in the fourth year, both of them were sent to the Deccan, where the military situation needed the concentration of larger forces and greater energy. Both of them remained there till their death, and were not given any chance to return to the capital.[2]

Jahāngīr's remarks at the death of Āsaf Khān reveal that he did not trust him, and his suspicions about him were not removed till the last. Thus the one was shifted for reasons of health, and the other for lack of confidence. The continuance of either of them at the court must have affected the smooth working of the administration and the powers of the dīvān. Hence Jahāngīr followed Akbar's policy in detail, and utilized Āsaf Khān like Mun'im in the field in which the greater part of his life had been spent. But on the whole, Jahāngīr speaks highly of the capacity and learning of both of his vakīls.[3]

Āsaf Khān the last of the vakīls

After the fourth year, Jahāngīr carried on the administration on the lines of Akbar and no vakīl was appointed till the twenty-first year. It was in the last year of the reign when Jahāngīr returned from Kābul, after regaining his freedom from Mahābat Khān, that the office was conferred upon Āsaf Khān the son of I'timād-ud-Daulah, a step which ought to have been taken soon after his father's death in the sixteenth year to save the Empire from the anarchy and confusion through which it passed during that period. Abul Hasan acted as the dīvān with him.

Thus during the twenty-two years of the reign, the office was occupied by three vakīls for a period of about five years in all.

[1] *Tuzuk*, pp. 50 and 113.

[2] *Tuzuk*, pp. 108 and 113. Both Sharīf and Āsaf died in the eighth year.

[3] *Tuzuk*, pp. 108 and 113.

Āsaf Khān continued in his office under Shāh Jahān. As father-in-law of the king, and the chief person to whom Shāh Jahān owed his throne, he held every honour which could be bestowed upon a minister. He was given the rank of eight thousand, the highest up till then held by any amīr of the state. He was styled 'amvī (uncle) in farmāns'.[1] At the request of his daughter, Queen Mumtāz Mahal, the royal seal was also entrusted to him.[2] He was allowed the use of naubat (beating of drums), one of the exclusive privileges of royalty.[3] But so far as the administrative machinery was concerned, no change was effected in spite of his personality. The dīvān continued to enjoy his power and position as before.

Āsaf Khān died in the fifteenth year of the reign,[4] and after him no vakīl was appointed under Shāh Jahān. The rest of his ministers were dīvāne-i-kul (chief dīvāns) and not vakīls.

Transaction of work by the vakīl

During the first stage of the vikālat, Atka Khān and Mun'im had charge of all political, revenue, and financial matters, and they transacted the daily routine work in the Dīvān-i-Khās like the dīvāns of later times. The incident of Ātka Khān's murder in the same hall reveals that he sat on the masnad, as the vakīl of the Empire, while others who were appointed by the king to work in the same department also sat in the same hall. At the time when Adham Khān entered the hall Shihāb-ud-dīn and Mun'im were also present there, together

[1] Lāhorī, I, p. 114.

[2] Lāhorī, I, p. 180. In the fourth year when he was sent to the Deccan it was given to Begam Sāhib and thereafter remained with her (p. 406).

[3] See below under Rewards and Distinctions.

[4] Lāhorī, II, p. 257. At his death, he held the rank of nine thousand ẕāt, 9 thousand horse all 'do aspah se aspah' yielding a salary of 16 kror—20 lac dāms equivalent to Rs. 45 lacs annually.

with other 'magnates who were transacting public business'.[1]

After the separation of the revenue and finance, the regular office work must have been done by the dīvān, but Muzzaffar, during his vikālat, appears to have exercised greater influence over the administration, and as the orders were definite in his case, the dīvān's work was supervised by him and all papers before reaching the king must have passed through him. A casual remark by Abul Fazl gives an idea of the power of Muzzaffar, as the head of the ministry. 'When he took charge of his . . . duties and did good services, his eye owing to his ill fate lost sight of the glorious aid of the God-given fortune and regarded only itself. He began to quaff the sense-destroying wine of worldly success and ascribed every administrative success to his own abilities. He appropriated to himself the management of external affairs and because the world's lord had for reasons of policy conferred upon him the title of vakīl, the simpleton gradually came to consider himself fit for such an office and his arrogance increased.'[2]

This passage refers to his first term of office, when he resigned on the question of reforms in the jāgīr system, but, on the whole, he appears to be a man of independent and assertive nature and his policy continued to be the same even in his second term of office, when he worked with Rāja Todar Mal and Khvāja Shāh Mansūr. Badā'ūnī says that every day conflict arose between him and the Rāja on every matter of policy and detail.[3] But all the three continued to work together for two years, when the combination was broken up by Muzzaffar's transfer.

It was the period of development and construc-

[1] *A.N.*, II, p. 174. Tr., p. 269. Seventh year of the reign.
[2] *A.N.*, III, p. 68. Tr., p. 94.
[3] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 65.

tion, and it appears that the attitude taken by Muzzaffar did not continue, and the long gaps in the office during which the post remained vacant did not allow the policy of Muzzaffar to take root in the administration. Henceforward the entire work passed under the dīvān, and regulations in the *Ā'īn* show that only the papers reaching the king and orders emanating from him necessarily passed through the vakīl,[1] but there is no evidence to show that he exercised any check or influence over the dīvān in the discharge of his duties, apart from the right of receiving the papers and placing his seal on all farmāns.[2]

Under Jahāngīr, Āsaf Khān was definitely ordered to sit in the dīvān and to look 'to the affairs, political and financial'.[3] This order was necessary under the conditions in which the appointment was made, but Āsaf continued to sit in the dīvān under Shāh Jahān as well. Chandra Bhān says that he sat with Afzal Khān in the Dīvān-i-Ā'lā and their relations were most cordial.[4]

A casual reference in the *Tārīkh-i-Shākir Khānī*, which deals with the reign of Muhammad Shāh, shows the arrangement of the dīvān when Āsaf Khān sat there. Āsaf Khān sat in the kachehrī, where Afzal Khān sat opposite to him at a distance of four yards. The two peshkārs of the dīvān sat behind him. Sādiq Khān, the mīr bakhshī, sat on the right hand of Āsaf Khān at a distance of two yards from his masnad, while on the left of the

[1] MS. Add. 6585, F. 56. 'Copies of financial statements of the provinces and of all other papers which reach the office of the Dīvān-i-Ā'lā should be sent to the office of the vakīl.'

[2] ibid., F. 54. The vāqi'a navīs (a) read to him (Āsaf Khān) the reports received from the subahs every evening; (b) his seal was placed on all sanads of financial grants.

[3] *Tuzuk*, p. 412.

[4] MS. Add. 1892, pp. 94–5.

vakīl, sat the bakhshī-i-tan, at a distance of four yards. The mīr bakhshī put before him the papers relating to the subedārs, faujdārs, and the dīvāns of the provinces. Afzal Khān dealt with the cases of the jāgīrs which were put before him by his peshkārs, and passed orders under his signature.

The mīr bakhshī reported the proceedings of the kachehrī to the king every day in the open court.[1]

The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Shākir Khānī* considers it a special privilege granted to Āsaf Khān that he sat in the dīvān, and he has included it in the list of honours conferred upon him, like the privilege of naubat and coming in his pālkī up to the gate of the Dīvān-i-khās-o-'Ām. But, in spite of Āsaf Khān's privilege, the position of the dīvān-i-ā'alā remained unaffected, so far as the affairs of his department were concerned, and there is no trace of his influence in it.[2]

The vakīls eclipsed by the dīvāns

Of Akbar's vakīls, Muzzaffar Khān was decidedly the best and the most efficient and capable, but he was matched against Rāja Todar Mal who was always supported by Akbar and respected by him for his capacity and loyalty, and thus he too failed to raise the status of the office. The appointments of Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān and Khān-i-Ā'Zam Mirzā Koka appear to be simply of an honorary character. They were made to exalt the position of the favourites and to add to their dignity and rank rather than to utilize them for the work of administration, which continued in the hands of the dīvāns.

Under Jahāngīr, Sharīf and Āsaf were both highly capable and assertive yet neither of them got any

[1] MS. Add. 6585, F. 54a. Amīr-ul-Umarā Asad Khān, the vakīl of Bahādur Shāh, put forward the example of Āsaf Khān and requested that the same privileges be granted to him. It is in this connexion that these facts are recorded in this MS.

[2] ibid., Fs. 54b and 55.

chance to wield power and exert their influence, on account of their transfer to the Deccan. Another Āsaf Khān came to power, when everything was in chaos, and in spite of his high position and connexions, he does not appear to have had any real power in the administrative sphere in the presence of the dīvān, Abul Hasan, who had been connected with the king since the beginning of his reign and in office since the death of I'timād-ud-Daulah. He was not only an experienced and capable officer, but was also highly conscious of his honour and rank and assertive in the exercise of his powers. A remark in the *Chahār Chaman* that the manner in which he sat in the dīvān in the presence of the vakīl was well-known, suggests that he cared little for him, and another hint suggests that he did not leave his seat (i.e. did not rise to do honour) when the vakīl came in.[1] Hawkins' remarks about him also give the same impression,[2] and thus an explanation is found why Abul Hasan was removed from the office under Shāh Jahān in spite of the help given by him both to the vakīl and to the cause of the king, and why Āsaf Khān's nominee, Irādat Khān, was given this office. But Shāh Jahān, with all respect to his father-in-law and the prime minister, neither liked his domination nor gave him a chance to use it. Irādat Khān was within a year replaced by 'Allāmī Afzal Khān, the trusted companion of the king, and the most talented man of his times. Thus Āsaf Khān in his career as a vakīl was matched against Abul Hasan, Afzal Khān, and (after the death of the latter) by another favourite of the king, Islām Khān, and, therefore, he too never got a chance to assert his position or to wield real power. The dīvān was the dominating

[1] MS. Add. 1892, F. 91: 'In spite of this he was not deposed' (i.e. under Jahāngīr). The relations of the dīvān were very cordial with the mīr sāmān (Mīr Jumla) and mīr bakhshī (Sādiq Khān).

[2] Hawkins, pp. 88, 90–2.

officer in administrative spheres, and in the annals of the period he alone is conspicuous.

Thus the position of the vakīl remained the same as when established under Akbar. The vikālat retained its dignity and prestige, but it was shorn of its power. It remained the highest office of the Empire and its holder was always the first man in the state, but he ceased to wield the power which was associated with its name.

The practice of keeping the office vacant at times, and carrying on the administration without a vakīl, further minimized its importance and it ceased to be a necessary part of the administrative machinery.

After the appointment of Muzzaffar under Akbar, and Sharīf under Jahāngīr, to the vikālat, the office ceased to be the monopoly of the amīrs of birth or of important connexions or of long service.[1]

But apart from the loss of power, all the vakīls enjoyed the perfect confidence of their masters and were highly respected by them. They were the first men in the state in rank and honour and mostly at the top of the nobility, and, as such, they held higher prestige than the dīvāns. In other words, they were the heads of the nobility and not of the administration. They possessed rank, honour and prestige, but no power.

[1] Muzzaffar started his career as officer of a pargana after his release from imprisonment, and Sharīf had practically no position in the state before Jahāngīr's accession. All that he held was given by Jahāngīr as a prince.

The Vakīls of the Empire

	Name	*Year of the Reign*		*Period*
Akbar	Shihāb-ud-Dīn Bahādur Khān	6th	=	1 year
	Atka Khān	7th	=	1 year
	Mun'im Khān	7th–12th	=	5 years
	Muzzaffar Khān	22nd–24th	=	2 years
	Khān Khānān Mirzā Khān (Abdur Rahīm)	34th	=	a few months
	Khān-i-Ā'Zam Mirzā 'Azīz Koka	40th–50th	=	10 years
Jahāngīr	Amīr-ul-umarā Sharīf Khān	1st	=	1 year
	Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī	2nd–4th	=	3 years
	Āsaf Khān Abul Hasan	21st	=	1 year
Shāh Jahān	„	1st–15th	=	14 years

Thus during the period of 97 years (1560–1657) there were ten vakīls and they covered in all about 39 years of this period. The list of Akbar's vakīls given in the *Ā'īn*, p. 233, is not accurate. It includes Khvāja Jahān who was never appointed a vakīl. He only worked with Mun'im for some time. Still more surprising is the omission of Muzzaffar Khān, who is so much talked of and criticized as a vakīl in the *Akbar Nāma*. In the above list short periods of Mun'im's and Muzzaffar's first terms of office are not included.

CHAPTER IV

PART I

THE STATE DEPARTMENTS

OUTLINE

The Division of Power and Functions of Ministers

The ministry of wakils under the Abbasides, Ghaznavids, the Seljuks. All favour four ministers.

Delhi sultanate also had the same in theory, though not always in practice.

Akbar and his advisers then decided to have four ministers: (1) the diwan, (2) the mir bakhshi, (3) the mir saman, (4) the sadr.

The Status of Each

Under the Abbasides and Ghaznavids the wazir dominated the rest. Ibn-i-Khaldun favoured the same. The principle opposed by Bughra Khan, the son of Balban, in his advice to Kaiqubad, the sultan of Delhi. Equal rank and status urged for all the four.

The same principle followed and extended by Akbar. Important affairs not confined to four ministers only; in councils others were also admitted.

Thus the working of state departments entrusted to four ministers, councils kept open for others as well. The diwan given a little higher position, but not a dominating one.

The Diwan

The significance of the term. Its use under the Mughals. The problem of reconstructing the state departments; the determination of the status of the diwan.

Position established under Muzaffar, the first diwan (9th–19th year of the reign).

19th–20th year. Shiftings due to troubles in Bengal. Muzaffar's short term, second time. Raja Todar Mal's appointment and transfer to Bengal. Shihab-ud-din alone continued.

21st year. Shihab-ud-din transferred to Malwa. Khwaja Shah Mansur the sole diwan.

22nd year. Raja Todar Mal joined with him and Muzaffar made wakil with them.

22nd–24th year. The ministry of three—a distinguished record in

CHAPTER V

PART I

THE STATE DEPARTMENTS

OUTLINE

The Division of Power and Functions of Ministers

The number of vazīrs under the Abbasides, Ottomans, Ibn-i-Khaldūn. All favour four ministers.

Delhī sultanate also had the same in theory, though not always in practice.

Akbar and his advisors also decided to have four ministers: (1) the dīvān, (2) the mīr bakhshī, (3) the mīr sāmān, (4) the sadr.

The Status of Each

Under the Abbasides and Ottomans the one vazīr dominated the rest. Ibn-i-Khaldūn favoured the same. The principle opposed by Bughrā Khān, the son of Balban, in his advice to Kaiqubād, the sultān of Delhī. Equal rank and status urged for all the four.

The same principle followed and extended by Akbar; but state affairs not confined to four ministers only; in councils others were also admitted.

Thus the working of state departments entrusted to four ministers; councils kept open for others as well. The dīvān given a little higher position, but not a dominating one.

The Dīvān

The significance of the term. Its use under the Mughals. The problem of reconstructing the state departments; the determination of the status of the dīvān.

Position established under Muzzaffar, the first dīvān (9th–17th year of the reign).

18th–20th year. Shiftings due to troubles in Bengāl. Muzzaffar's short term, second time. Rāja Todar Mal's appointment and transfer to Bengāl. Shihāb-ud-dīn alone continued.

21st year. Shihāb-ud-dīn transferred to Mālva. Khvāja Shāh Mansūr the sole dīvān.

22nd year. Rāja Todar Mal joined with him and Muzzaffar made vakīl with them.

22nd–24th year. The ministry of three—a distinguished record in

spite of personal differences. Muzzaffar transferred to Bengāl. The Rāja also deputed in Behār. Khvāja deposed on the report of the Rāja but again raised to power.

24th year. Vazīr Khān and Khvāja Mansūr. The execution of Khvāja Mansūr on the charge of high treason.

25th–27th year. Qulīj Khān. His reforms.

27th–30th year. The Rāja joined him and made the Chief Dīvān. His reforms.

30th–34th year. Mīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī and Rāja Todar Mal. Reforms of Fatahulla. Death of both in the same year.

34th–39th year. Khvāja Shams-ud-dīn and Qulīj Khān.

39th–43rd year. Khvāja as the Chief Dīvān. Qulīj Khān transferred. Khvāja Shams-ud-dīn's work.

43rd year. Rāi Patar Dās as a colleague. The Khvāja transferred to the Panjāb. Rāi Patar Dās as sole dīvān—removed from office for bribery.

44th–49th year. Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī.

49th–50th year. Muqīm Khān. (Title vazīr khān.)

50th year. Department placed under the supervision of Prince Salīm.

List of Akbar's dīvāns and their varying period of office.

The classification of the period of forty-two years into three parts from an administrative point of view.

A review of Akbar's dīvāns.

The State Departments

THE vikālat being shorn of its powers and duties, it became necessary to entrust those duties to a number of vazīrs in such a manner that they might bear the burden of the administration, and, at the same time, might not be in a position to wield that power and influence which it was desired to avoid. This could be done by dividing the work of the state between them, and making them independent of each other and responsible only to the king.

The number of vazīrs and departments

Von Kremer, as referred to above, says that a ruler of the house of 'Abbās regarded an honourable qāzī, a just chief of the police, a businesslike finance minister, and a trustworthy postmaster, as the four most important instruments of government. Von Hammer thinks that four was a sacred number with both Turks and Muslims.[1] 'Ottoman writers represented their government under the figure of a tent supported by four lofty pillars: (*a*) the viziers, (*b*) the kāzīaskers, (*c*) the defterdārs, (*d*) the nishanjīs.'[2]

Ibn-i-Khaldūn also mentions four important officers at the centre of the government: (*a*) the vazīr, as the head, combines military powers with his court duties; (*b*) the dīvān-i-a'māl and kharāj (revenue minister); (*c*) the hājib, in charge of the darbār, the chief connecting link between the king

[1] and [2] Von Hammer, *vide* Lybyer, pp. 163–4.

(*a*) Ministers and chief councillors of the sultān for peace and war and judicial administration.

(*b*) The heads of the judiciary.

(*c*) Treasurers. The principal ones were of high importance with a right of audience to the king in matters of revenue.

(*d*) The chancery.

and other amīrs and the people seeking audience;[1] and (*d*) the dīvān-i-rasāil-o-makātibat, in charge of the office of drafting farmāns and other correspondence.[2]

Under the Delhī sultanate, the first reference to the state department is contained in the advice which Bughrā Khān gave to his son, Sultān Kaiqubād. He also advised him to have four pillars. The one should be in charge of the dīvān-i-vizārat; the next at the head of the dīvān-i-risālat; the third should have the charge of the dīvān-i-'arz, and the fourth should be entrusted with the dīvān-i-inshā' (which corresponds to the fourth of Ibn-i-Khaldūn).

But, as far as the practical administration of these departments is concerned, two of them (the first and third) existed throughout the sultanate, and the department of the judiciary consisted of the qāzī-i-mamālik (the chief qāzī or sadr), muftī, muhtasib, and amīr-i-dād (or dād bak).[3] There is no definite evidence of the working of the fourth department although the dabīr (chief secretary) had nearly the same duties, and the post carried much weight under 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī.[4]

Akbar and his advisers also appear to have been under the influence of Muslim jurists and administrators of other Muslim monarchies, and they followed the tradition which had found its place in the Delhī sultanate also. Hence the number of ministers, who share the duties and responsibilities of the state, is maintained as four, besides the vakīl, who ceases to

[1] Literally an officer who prevents people from crowding upon the king.

[2] Ibn-i-Khaldūn, Tr. pp. 102–9.

[3] For the determination of the position and duties of these officers, see the chapter on Justice, below.

[4] Barnī mentions all the four departments under 'Alā-ud-dīn, and says that except the dīvān-i-'arz, all had become inefficient in the last days of the sultān. This is the only casual reference about their existence as a whole (p. 337). Similarly a casual reference occurs under Fīrūz when 'Afīf mentions the arrangement of the Darbār (p. 279).

be a permanent or indispensable member of the administration. The dīvān or the dīvān-i-kul (chief dīvān) becomes responsible for revenue and finance and corresponds exactly with the dīvān-i-vizārat of the sultanate, and the dīvān-i-a'māl of Ibn-i-Khaldūn.

The mīr bakhshī or the chief bakhshī becomes the head of the military corresponding to the dīvān-i-'arz. The mīr sāman was the chief executive officer in charge of factories and stores maintained by the state. The sadr was the head of the ecclesiastical and the judicial departments.

Their status

In the famous sayings of the Abbaside ruler, referred to above, the vazīr finds no place, and it seems that the office was reserved for the Grand Vazīrs of the later period of the same dynasty. Under the Ottoman Empire, the vazīrs, as a body, control all power, and the existence of a Grand Vazīr, as one of them, leaves no scope for power for any other minister. The other four pillars become ordinary officers of the state carrying on the tedious routine work of the administration, while civil, military and judicial power, and the influence of advising and giving counsels to the king rests with the vazīr. Ibn-i-Khaldūn also attributes civil and military powers to the vazīr, who remains the head of the administration. All of these jurists follow the same policy of placing the supreme power and influence in the hands of one vazīr. The difference is only of degree and not of policy.

The advice given by Bughrā Khān, the son of Sultān Balban, with regard to the position of the four pillars, is different in principle. He says that all the four should have equal status in the state and equal respect before the king. Though for purposes of administration, greater regard should be paid to the dīvān-i-vizārat than others, yet he should not dominate the rest, nor should all matters pass through him.

In councils, each of them should have equal weight and access. Every order passed, every opinion expressed, and every policy formed, should be discussed in their presence, and none of them should be treated with any special favour which might discourage the other three, nor should anyone besides them be allowed to meddle with the affairs of administration.

This makes the position of the vazīr what Akbar would have liked. Akbar's vazīr, in the absence of the vakīl, occupied the same position as described above. He was one of the four pillars of the state; he had the charge of a separate department. In rank and position he was a little higher than his fellow ministers, but he did not dominate them. He had no general supervision over their departments. He exercised no official check or influence over them. They were independent of his control in their own spheres. But Akbar went a step further; and he created a happy blending of all the four, not only in counsels but also in the routine work of the administration, which was regulated so that each came in contact with the others, in matters of policy or in the big affairs of each department.

Akbar did not confine himself to hearing the advice of his four ministers only in affairs of policy. The system of requiring all high officers and nobles of the state to remain for some time at court greatly widened the sphere of his councils and enabled him to utilize their experience.

The chief features and the details of the working of both of these principles will be noticed in the following chapters.

The Dīvān

'The Irānian word *dēwān* connected with *dabīr*, writer, which is connected with the Assyrian *dap*, public registers of receipts and expenditure kept in

Significance of the term

Greek (Syria and Egypt) and in Pahalavī (Persia) in the early years of the conquest, then translated into Arabic, and continued in that language from this time. . . . The name, next, passed to the offices of the treasury, and thence was extended to the government of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs . . .'[1] Ibn-i-Khaldūn says that the word was used for the register which contained rules and regulations framed from time to time for the guidance of officers of revenue and finance, and later on came to be applied to those officers, and also to the hall in which they sat.[2] It was an ancient and well organized institution of the Persians, 'where was recorded all their income and expenditure, nothing being excepted therefrom; and there such as were entitled to pensions were arranged in grades so that no error might creep in'.[3]

Its use under the Mughals

Under the sultanate the word is used mostly for the department of the vazīr who dealt with the revenue and finance and also for the department of the military which was formerly attached to his office. Under the Mughals, its use is more definite and is limited to the head of the revenue and finance. Under Akbar the word vazīr is sparingly used for the office and the use of dīvān is more frequent. Under Jahāngīr the order is just the reverse and the term vazīr is more or less maintained, while under Shāh Jahān the use of the word becomes more exact. The vazīr is termed dīvān-i-kul (the chief dīvān), and his colleagues in the department are called dīvāns.

In the absence of a written constitution, definite rules and regulations governing the appointments of

[1] *Encyclopædia of Islām*, p. 979.

[2] Tr. p. 105. He also attributes it to a story that once Naushervān visited the hall where the clerks of the department were calculating figures rapidly and orally. He looked at them and said: 'They all seem to be dīvāne (mad).' Hence the word came to be used for those who worked there and later on to the place also.

[3] Browne, *Lit. Hist.*, I, 1909, p. 205. Introduced into the Muslim state under the Caliph 'Umar.

ministers, determining their position in the state and their relations with other component parts of the government, defining their powers and duties and the scope of their work, it would neither be safe nor accurate to enumerate all these features of vizārat under the Mughals without describing the processes which determined and fixed them.

The period of Indian history under review was a period of development and construction, after over a century of disintegration and administrative confusion in the country. The examples and lessons of the preceding centuries served as a warning to the administrators and revealed dangerous paths and pitfalls to be avoided, but they showed no definite road to follow. The Mughals had found a home, but it was not a safe one. It was a structure of which parts had fallen, parts were tottering and little stood firm. This had to be reconstructed with necessary alterations.

The object with which Akbar started after the fall of Bairām Khān has been noticed in the last chapter. The initial work done in connexion with the vikālat, was of destruction. The vakīl appeared like a dome over the tottering structure, and was found too heavy for the existing one and too clumsy to be retained for the new one. In the new plan it appeared like a tower by the side of the structure, not as a part of it, raised in the memory and to the glory of the old one.

The difficulty of getting suitable brains for the new plan was experienced in the initial stages. The group of Shihāb-ud-dīn, Māham Anga, Atka Khān and Mun'im failed to cope with the situation and impress the young Emperor. They belonged to the old school and were found incapable of adapting it to the new requirements. Besides this, they carried in themselves all those fatal tendencies which are

formed in the process of the degeneration of a nation, after the fall of kingdoms and empires.[1] They did not prove themselves above the ordinary level of that type of administrator. The changes in the vizārat, in the first two years (1565–7), and the position of Mun'im, in the next five years of his vikālat, clearly illustrate this point, and after this experience none of the old school was given a chance in the ministry.[2]

Muzzaffar Khān was the first dīvān of the Empire and the work of the revenue and finance was, at his appointment, separated from the vikālat. He had practical knowledge of revenue in the country, and, besides having worked under Bairām Khān, he had served as a pargana official, and as the dīvān of the Buyūtāt he was acquainted with the machinery of the central government, as it then stood. A man rising from the base of the department to the top possesses certain advantages of first-hand knowledge of its working and details, which heads of departments suddenly coming to power do not generally possess. His choice without any high connexions or recommendation is a sufficient testimony of the ability and capacity which must have impressed Akbar.

He served as dīvān with Mun'im as the vakīl and Khvāja Jahān as his colleague, till the twelfth year of the reign, when Mun'im was transferred to Bengāl and Khvāja Jahān was removed from his office.

During these three years, Akbar took every opportunity to raise the status of the dīvān, and his position appears to have been firmly established by this

[1] Selfishness, lack of sincerity, lack of unity, etc., though no lack of courage, capacity, knowledge or efficiency—a strange combination yet too common at such periods of a nation.

[2] Shihāb-ud-dīn continued in charge of khālsa lands, but was never given a chance of vizārat.

time. It was on his report that Mīr Bakhshī Lashkar Khān and Khvāja Jahān were removed from office, and it was the sequel of the same affair in which Mun'im was involved and which led to his transfer from the central government to the east.

As noticed above,[1] the ministry at this stage consisted of three ministers and all of them acted as colleagues. They enjoyed equal position and power.[2]

From the twelfth year up to the seventeenth, Muzzaffar acted as an independent minister and dīvān without any vakīl over him. In the thirteenth year further division of the work was made, and Shihāb-ud-dīn was placed in charge of khālsa lands. It appears that these lands were kept separate from the dīvān and the minister in charge of them was not under him.[3]

In the seventeenth year Muzzaffar fell from favour and was removed from his office for bad behaviour towards the king.

This ended the first phase of the career of Muzzaffar. During the eight years of his office (9th–17th),

[1] p. 128.

[2] *A.N.*, II, p. 229 (1) 'Khvāja Jahān and Muzzaffar looked to the affairs of the kingdom.' (Mun'im was with the king in Mālva.)

A.N., II, p. 248 (2) 'Muzzaffar Khān by whose counsels the affairs of the kingdom were conducted.'

A.N., II, p. 259 (3) 'Khvāja Jahān on whose counsels depended the execution of the affairs of the government.'

A.N., II, p. 276 (4) Mun'im Khān was given the charge of the capital, and Muzzaffar of the affairs of the dīvānī.

A.N., II, p. 259 (5) Mun'im, Muzzaffar and Khvāja Jahān jointly conducted peace negotiations at Karrah.

Thus on these occasions, while acting jointly or separately, they had equal status as ministers.

[3] The author of *M.U.* is very definite on this point. (1) Shihāb-ud-dīn was appointed because the dīvān was overworked and he could not attend to the khālsa properly (II, p. 569). (2) A casual reference under the nineteenth year (*A.N.*, III, p. 87) shows that Shihāb-ud-dīn was the vakīl of the khālsa.

the position of the dīvān, as head of the department and the first minister of the Empire, was firmly established. Besides the instances of his position and influence noted above, the case of Sheikh 'Abd-ul-Nabī shows that Muzzaffar had his hand in high appointments as well. Both Abul Fazl and Badā'ūnī attribute the appointment of 'Abd-ul-Nabī as sadr entirely to him.[1]

It was the period in which the work of expansion and consolidation were proceeding side by side. The Doāb was firmly settled. Rājpūtāna was pacified. Mālvā and Gujrāt had been conquered, and the Mughal arms had reached Bengāl where Mun'im was achieving success.

On the other hand, the land was divided into khālsa and jāgīr and reforms were proceeding in both. It was during the same period that Muzzaffar introduced several reforms in the revenue department.

The removal of Muzzaffar Khān must have been considered necessary to make him feel that he was not indispensable, and that discipline could not be sacrificed for any individual. The object was achieved and an example set, but Muzzaffar was not to be sacrificed for a single fault. 'His good services were called to mind and his merits were found to outweigh his defects; an order was issued rescinding his departure for the Hejāz and bringing him to the court.'[2] In the eighteenth year, he was given charge of Mālvā, a step to further convince him that he was not indispensable as the dīvān, and he was made vakīl in the nineteenth year, and the additional honour which the word vikālat carried with it was conferred on him. He was now both the dīvān and the vakīl.

[1] *A.N.*, II, p. 248. Abul Fazl suggests that Muzzaffar made the appointment and only obtained Akbar's sanction. Badā'unī, II, p. 71.

[2] *A.N.*, III, Tr. p. 9.

But the glory was short-lived. He soon resigned on the question of reforms in the jāgīr system.[1]

In the twentieth year, Rāja Todar Mal was made mushrif-i-dīvān, but he was sent to Bengāl in the same year to assist Khān Jahān who had succeeded Mun'im after his death. Thus Muzzaffar remained out of office and Rāja Todar Mal loyally served his master's cause in the field.

During all these changes and shiftings, Shihāb-ud-dīn remained in charge of the khālsa, and though he was an experienced man in his own branch and held high rank, he was not given any chance of vizārat.[2]

Akbar continued to try new hands and achieve success through them. In the twenty-first year, he made a similar choice of Khvāja Shāh Mansūr Shīrāzī, 'an expert financier', and made him the dīvān,[3] and in the same year Shihāb-ud-dīn was appointed the Governor of Mālvā. Next year the Rāja returned from Bengāl and was again given charge of the office. The same year (twenty-second), Muzzaffar was summoned to the court, after his splendid

[1] Thus he showed his courage and a high sense of self-respect. He was some time after offered the command of the royal camp proceeding to Behār. He rejected it as below his dignity, and after-events proved that he was fully justified in considering it so, because the officer appointed to the post was removed from service for the loss of an elephant from the camp, which was attributed to his negligence.

[2] *M.U.*, II, p. 570. Highly spoken of for his managing capacity and attention to the prosperity of the land and the happiness of the people.

[3] The word used is vizārat, but Abul Fazl is not very exact in the use of the terms dīvān and vazīr. He uses both in the same sense. (*A.N.*, III, p. 193, and again on p. 293, he calls the khvāja the dīvān). Mansūr was also released from jail. He was Mun'im's secretary and held the charge of his jāgīr; after his death he was called to explain the accounts and in the same connexion put in chains by the Rāja (twentieth year). He, too, was released without any recommendation. Akbar had seen him before, and was impressed by him (*M.U.*, I, pp. 653–8). Thus it was again an assertion of power and recognition of merit (Badā'ūnī, II, p. 240). He calls him a clerk (navīsanda-i-shīrāz).

services in the east, which were recognized by conferring upon him the vikālat.

The order issued for his appointment makes the position of all the three ministers clear. He was to inquire into the affairs of the Empire, and the other two were to perform their duties in consultation with him.

Thus the ministry again consisted of three, with one of them as the vakīl, but Muzzaffar was a man different from Mun'im, as noted in the last chapter.[1] He asserted his position very well, but the term of office was only of two years, and his attitude did not affect the position of the dīvān; and the Rāja also was still uncompromising. He appears to have been at war with both of his colleagues. However, the ministry remained in office for two years, and in spite of their differences, they put up a very distinguished record. At this time Abul Fazl had joined the service, and more details of their work are known. They are incidentally mentioned in connexion with Akbar's tour in the Panjāb, in which Abul Fazl also accompanied him.

The work of the ministry

During the tour a council[2] was held in which the following matters were decided.

(*a*) The assignment of the sarkār of Behār as a jāgīr to a number of officers.[3]

(*b*) The taking of mints from the charge of the chaudhrīs under government management, and their assignment to government officers as below:

(i) The mint of Lāhore to Muzzaffar.
(ii) Bengāl to Rāja Todar Mal.
(iii) Jaunpūr to Mansūr.

[1] Abul Fazl does not use the word vikālat on this occasion, but it is used in the twenty-fourth year, when he was transferred to Bengāl.

[2] *A.N.*, III, pp. 220–57. All three ministers accompanied the king and the council consisted only of three.

[3] Shujā'at Khān and Mīr Mu'zul Mulk and a few others.

(iv) Gujrāt to Kh. 'Imād-ud-dīn Hasan.
(v) Patna to Āsaf Khān.
(vi) Fatehpūr, to K. 'Abdul Samad Shīrīn Qalam.

(c) An order was passed that square rupīs (chahār gosha) should be coined.[1]

During the same tour the Rāja was ordered to disperse a group of Afghāns to different provinces, as certain cases of their oppression were reported, and their hold on certain villages created delay in the administration of justice and difficulty in getting evidence against them.[2]

Saiyid Muzzaffar and Raja Bīrbar were dispatched to Jālundhar to inquire into the condition of the needy and report deserving cases to the king.[3]

The Governor of the Panjāb, Husain Qulī Khān Mahram, was removed from office on charges of maladministration and neglect of duty. Sa'eed Khān was appointed in his place.[4]

Muzzaffar Khān and Shāh Mansūr were appointed to inquire into the case of the 'amal juzār (collector) of Delhī against whom the petition of the public was received.[5]

On their return from the tour, Mansūr and Muzzaffar were appointed to inspect the treasury of the capital.[6]

In the beginning of the twenty-fourth year, Muzzaffar was appointed the Governor of Bengāl,[7] and a few months later the Rāja was sent to Behār on military duty to help the officers in dealing with the

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 227. Bev., p. 320. Second Āzur, twenty-second year of the reign.

[2] *A.N.*, III, p. 247. [3] ibid. [4] ibid.

[5] *A.N.*, III, p. 250.

[6] *A.N.*, III, p. 257. Twenty-third year.

[7] Muzzaffar considered this appointment below his dignity and it was one of the chief causes which disgusted and discouraged him so that he could put no heart into the work in Bengāl, which led to his failure and death. Abul Fazl is very unjust to him on this occasion and unduly severe in his criticism (p. 291).

political situation and the revolt of the army. Thus the ministry was broken and the Khvāja alone continued as the dīvān.

It was during this period that the Khvāja curtailed the allowance of the Behār and Bengāl armies on his own responsibility, an action which gave a further grievance to the military leaders and strengthened the cause of the rebels. It also created difficulties in the handling of the matter and the Rāja strongly criticized the action in his report to the king and pointed out its effects upon the situation. Abul Fazl also agrees with him in his condemnation of the Khvāja's action. 'From his practice in accounts and seeking after profit (for government), he looked narrowly into the transactions of the army, and giving his attention to one side only of a vizier's duties, he pressed forward the rules of demand. . . . The Khvāja went out of his proper course and set himself to increase the revenue. Nor did he consider the disturbance of the time and the crisis of the age, but demanded payment of arrears. Rāja Todar Mal reported that the imperial servants were engaged in a hot war, and the market of sacrifice of life was active. The government officers were at such a time of contest acting without consideration or knowledge of the times, . . . what name could be given to this kind of presumption? And to what set could he belong who made demands out of reason?'

The Khvāja was deposed and 'the combatants in the Eastern provinces bound anew the girdle of devotion on receipt of this great favour, and advanced the foot of courage. Many abandoned ingratitude and made submission.'[1]

Vazīr Khān, the former Governor of Gujrāt, was appointed the dīvān. Badā'ūnī says that Qāzī 'Alī

[1] *A.N.*, III, pp. 315–6, 461–2.

Baghdādī was attached to him. Abul Fazl does not mention his name, but Badā'ūnī is more reliable on this occasion, because he had a personal grudge against Qāzī 'Alī. He was the same man who, as an assistant sadr, had brought to the notice of the king that Badā'ūnī held his jāgīr conditional upon service, while he was performing none at that time. The remarks used by Badā'ūnī on his appointment to this officer clearly indicate the feelings of the writer.[1]

The same year the Khvāja was raised to office, 'as it appeared that in the writing of accounts and demanding of arrears there was no fault of the Khvāja except the thought of increasing the revenue and a failure to recognize the circumstances of the time'.[2] Thus favour was shown to the Rāja by his removal, the political object was gained by pleasing his opponents in the east, and finally the capable and efficient dīvān was not sacrificed. But the Khvāja was not destined to enjoy the confidence of the king for long. The same year he became implicated in the conspiracy of Mirzā Hakīm against Akbar. A charge was brought against him, and he was executed after the trial. It is the only case of a Mughal minister being executed,[3] and it was most tragic.

[1] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 287.

Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī dil āzār manhūs mankūs būm shakl mardūd ur rab wal Khalq . . . subhān Allāh īn che tarkīb i munāsib ast.

At his death he says:

> Chūn ke Qāzī 'Alī i Baghdādī
> Hasrat i yādgār bā khud murd
> Khama i munshī i qazā be navisht
> Sāl i tārīkh i ū ke mūzī murd.

He calculated the date of his birth in the words *mūzī murd* (the wretch died), p. 381.

Vazīr is one of those few fortunates against whom Badā'ūnī has nothing to say.

[2] *A.N.*, III, p. 327. Bev., p. 480.

[3] *A.N.*, III, p. 344. Bev., p. 504, and also footnote to pp. 504–5. A.F.

This closed the career of a highly efficient dīvān and financier. It was during his term of office that the Empire was divided into twelve subas and a separate dīvān and bakhshī appointed with the governor in each province.[1] The ten year settlement also came into force and he had the credit of carrying it out. 'Though the carrying out of this great design was committed to Rāja Todar Mal and Khvāja Shāh Mansūr, the Rāja was sent to the eastern provinces and it was the Khvāja who by dint of his sagacity comprehended the sublime instructions and arranged the exquisite plan.'[2]

His death closed the third set of the ministry and the affairs of the dīvān were entrusted to Qulīj Khān who had been a governor of Gujrāt and was noted for his managing capacity and regard for the prosperity of the country and the ra'īyyat.[3]

Zīn Khān Kokaltāsh and Hakīm Abul Fatah were also ordered to sit in the dīvān. The order is very ambiguous. It instructs them to sit there and remain acquainted with the affairs. Their position is not at all clear, but they cannot be regarded as regular ministers nor is there any reference to their position as such, in any other connexion. However, they sat in the dīvān.[4]

upholds the judgement. Badā'ūnī, II, p. 293, considers it a fit punishment: 'Khush bāsh ke Zālim na burd rah ba salāmat', 'Rejoice that the tyrant did not escape in safety.' Monserrate, (pp. 65 and 98) who was present in the camp during the days of trial, also favours A. Fazl who is apparently his source of information. He speaks of him as his friend on several occasions. *M.U.*, I, pp. 656–7, on the support of other sources of material which have not reached us, attributes it to the intrigues of the amīrs, particularly Rāja Todar Mal and Karamullah, brother of Shāhbāz Khān, and says that when Akbar visited Kābul and investigated the matter on the spot, the charge was found false, and he expressed much regret.

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 282. Bev., p. 413. *M.U.*, I, p. 654. Twenty-fourth year.

[2] *A.N.*, III, p. 282. Bev., pp. 413–4. *M.U.*, I, p. 654. Twenty-fourth year.

[3] *M.U.*, III, p. 69.

[4] *A.N.*, III, p. 344. Twenty-fifth year.

After his return from Bengāl, the Rāja was also included in the ministry and he appears to have felt it to be only one like others, and 'on account of the perils of the great responsibility for work and activity of the double-faced, ten-tongued persons, he had not applied himself heartily to it. Accordingly as a recognition of his services he was made ashraf-i-dīvān, and virtually the position of vakīl was conferred upon him.'[1] This deprived Qulīj Khān of his chief position, and affairs passed under the control of Rāja Todar Mal.

The ministry of Qulīj Khān has a great work to its credit. 'An order was issued that the jāgīrdārs, shiqdārs and dāroghas of the Empire should reduce to writing the numbers, and the occupations of the inhabitants, village by village, and should classify them. . . . They were not to allow anyone to live without some trade or occupation, and they were to look narrowly into the income and expenditure of men . . . so that in a short space of time the outwardly good, but inwardly bad, might be discovered. . . . By this enlightened order there was a market-day of graciousness, and the wide territory of India received a great calm.'[2]

The order had a twofold purpose: it was a census of the Empire, and a police duty combined with a paternal attitude to keep every citizen employed in some trade or profession as a state duty, in the interests both of society and the individual. Unfortunately, no records of such lists have survived. They would have thrown considerable light on the condition of the people of the remotest corners of the Empire and of the village population about which so little is known.

This was the first occasion on which the Rāja got the upper hand in the ministry and he utilized it

[1] *A.N.*, III. Bev., p. 561. Twenty-seventh year.

[2] *A.N.*, III, pp. 346–7. Bev., p. 509.

The reforms of Rāja Todar Mal

to show his worth and capacity like his two predecessors, Muzzaffar and Mansūr. 'With a stout heart, he maintained the law of the caliphate, and had no fear of the powerful and the crafty . . . he proposed several regulations. . . .'

Of these the first set refers to the duties of the collectors, fixing regulations for the collection of rent and providing fines for excess realization.

The second refers to the appointment of one clerk (bitikchī) instead of two. The third and fourth are provisions for increasing cultivation and arrangements for gradual and progressive payment of rents, together with the advancement of cash loans to the cultivators. Collectors were required to submit reports every year. Abstract accounts were to be sent weekly, and a daily journal of collection month by month, to the head office.

The fifth and sixth regulations required lists of damaged lands to be sent to the head office. The seventh made provisions for bringing turbulent cultivators into the path of obedience.

The eighth and ninth dealt with the collection of rent and gave instructions to the collector, patvārī and the treasurer.

Ths tenth demanded the k͟hālsa officers and jāgīrdārs to supply 'correct reports about the ill-conducted, the obedient, and the disobedient in their estates so that recompense and retribution may be bestowed and the thread of government be strengthened'. This embodies a part of Qulīj K͟hān's work, noted above.

The eleventh fixed the charges per bīgha to the measurement party.[1]

The proposals were put before the king and accepted after a careful examination. It shows that they were neither put before any council nor before other ministers. Akbar might have consulted them on his own initiative, but the dīvān, as such, was

[1] *A.N.*, III, pp. 381–3. Bev., pp. 563–6.

not required to consult even his colleagues, if he wanted to avoid them, which the Rāja must certainly have done on this occasion.

The Rāja continued to enjoy his exalted position till the thirtieth year, and was honoured by the king's visit to his residence at Lāhore.[1] The distinction and honour were not without reason, and it was only a few months after the occasion when Amīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī was included in the ministry and an order was issued that Rāja Todar Mal should conduct the financial and administrative affairs 'according to the Mīr's counsels and that he (the Mīr) should bring to a conclusion the old transactions which had not been examined since the days of Muzzaffar Khān. He was to report to His Majesty what occurred to his far-reaching intellect.'

This order reveals certain points. First, the term vakīl, dīvān or vazīr is not used for Mīr Fatahulla. He is termed amīn-ul-mulk, just as ashraf-i-dīvān is used for the Rāja. These terms further reveal the policy of Akbar to avoid the title of vazīr or vakīl and to minimize the importance of the office and the associations attached to it.

Secondly, it definitely places the Mīr above the Rāja.

Thirdly, it shows that in spite of the appointments of more than one minister in the department, the pending work had not been finished and it had to be particularly mentioned in the farmān. Similarly, Akbar said on another occasion that financial matters fell into confusion when Khvāja (Mansūr) died.[2]

There is no mention of Qulīj Khān in the order, but I am inclined to think that, having regard to the pending business and the irreconcilable nature of

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 466. During the tour through the Panjāb. Thirtieth year.

[2] *M.U.*, I, p. 657.

the Rāja, he must have been allowed to continue in office.[1]

Mīr Fatahulla started his work with perfect zeal and earnestness, and like his able predecessors he also put forward certain proposals for further reforms for which there was still ample scope. The proposals aimed at remedying the defects experienced in the practical working of the administration since the last regulations were put into force, and they covered a larger field than those of the Rāja. Each proposal is supported by a statement of the facts which necessitated it. Hence his proposals, classified and detailed under twenty different heads, give a good idea of the working of the department, and the new minister's sound grasp of its affairs.

The first three proposals deal with the collection of revenue, with giving receipts to the cultivator and account-keeping.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth, refer to the negligence of the cultivators and contain provisions for putting greater checks upon patvārīs, muqaddams and pākars (middle-men) in the interest of the ra'īyyat.

The seventh to fifteenth deal with the relations of the collector and the central department, particularly the auditing branch. The report takes into account the grievances of the collectors based upon the explanations submitted by them in cases of their default to carry out their duties. The proposals provide remedies for existing difficulties, and methods for improved administration, and do justice to the collectors.

The sixteenth makes an excellent proposal for keeping one qānūngo from each pargana at the court for the enlightenment of the subject on matters connected with his duties.

[1] He is separated from it in the thirty-fourth year when he was left at Lāhore with the Rāja.

The seventeenth refers to the treasury, the eighteenth to the need of scrutinizing pending arrears, the nineteenth provides encouragement to the jāgīrdārs to improve their estates and recommends to the king to take it into consideration at the time of increasing their rank and allowances. The twentieth refers to the rules of deducting a soldier's pay on his failure to produce his horse for branding.[1]

These proposals were put before the king and approved. Abul Fazl adds his remark that 'as these remarks had been written with good intention and from right thinking, they were accepted. The old accounts were put into order, and by the labours of this wise man the tribunal of the vazīr (dārul vizārat) became a house of delight for the public.'

During the term of the same ministry, deductions were made in rent owing to the cheapness of grain, on four occasions at different places, and the rates issued by the central department were made applicable to the jāgīrs of the officers also.[2]

In the thirty-second year Rāja Todar Mal had some quarrel with Shahbāz Khān Mīr Bakhshī, and the matter went so far that a commission of inquiry was appointed which included Khān Khānān, Mīr Fatahulla, Hakīm Abul Fatah and Abul Fazl. The inquiry revealed that 'self-interest had thrown a veil

[1] *A.N.*, III, pp. 457–9. Bev., pp. 687–93.

[2] 1. Provinces of Allahābād, Oudh, and Delhī—one in 5½ shares of the spring crop, and one-fifth in Allahābād proper. Provinces of Allahābād and Oudh—one sixth in autumn crop. Loss to the khālsa = 7 krors, 7 lacs, 47062 dāms = Rs. 1,768,674. (*A.N.*, III, p. 463. Thirtieth year.)

2. *A.N.*, III, p. 491. Thirty-first year—Allahābād, Oudh, Delhī, one-sixth allowed.

3. *A.N.*, III, p. 533. Thirty-third year. Āgra, Delhī—one-sixth (spring). Allahābād one in 4½. Āgra, Oudh, Delhī, one-fourth (autumn).

4. *A.N.*, III, p. 577. Thirty-fourth year. Allahābād, Āgra, Oudh, Delhī and sarkār of Sahāranpūr, Badāon, one-eighth. Suhrnad and Hisār, one-tenth.

over the eyes of both', and by proper measures 'the dust of contest was laid over'.[1]

In the thirty-fourth year, Akbar went on a tour to Kashmīr and Kābul and all the ministers accompanied him. The trip proved fatal to the vazīrs. Mīr Fatahulla died in Kashmīr. Abul Fatah followed him. Rāja Todar Mal completed his days at Lāhore and took the same road to join his colleagues and meet his rivals.

But Mīr Fatahulla before his death had a chance to preside over a commission upon a shiqdār[2] against whom complaints of oppression were made during the tour. Shahbāz Khān and Qāsim Beg (mīr 'adl)[3] acted as members of the commission. The accused was found guilty and punished with death.

The death of Mīr Fatahulla deprived Akbar of one of his ablest vazīrs. His words at the news of his death reveal his sentiment and the respect he had for his learning and capacity. 'Mīr was my vakīl, philosopher, physician, and astronomer. Who can understand my grief for him? Had he fallen into the hands of the Franks (firangiān) and they had demanded all my treasurers in exchange for him, I should gladly have entered upon such a profitable traffic and have bought that precious jewel cheap.' Abul Fazl calls him 'memorial of former ages' (yādgār-i-hukamā-i-paishīn) and says that 'the meeting with this great man worked a revolution in my ideas. Together with all his stock of knowledge, he was a rare jewel of truth and uprightness and practical skill.' Badā'ūnī also recognizes his merit, but not without putting a slur upon him.[4]

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 525. Thirty-second year.

[2] *A.N.*, III, p. 538. Thirty-fourth year. Allah Bardī Shiqdār, the agent of Sādiq Khān, near Siālkot.

[3] The name given in the text as Qāsim Khān is incorrect. He was neither mīr 'adl nor present on the spot.

[4] *A.N.*, III, p. 558. Bev., p. 848. *M.U.*, I, pp. 100–4.

Badā'ūnī, II, pp. 315–6. He agrees that he had no equal in his age

The death of Mīr Fatahulla followed by that of Rāja Todar Mal broke the brilliant combination of the successful ministry, and 'the market of business lost its briskness'.[1]

During the remaining sixteen years of the reign, there were several changes, and except for Khvāja Shams-ud-dīn Khavāfī who succeeded the Mīr, and became, after the death of the Rāja and the transfer of Qulīj Khān to the governorship of Kābul (thirty-ninth year), the chief dīvān (dīvān-i-kul), there is none in the list of any distinction or merit. He continued in office, and in the forty-third year, Rāi Patar Dās, who had had experience of revenue affairs as the dīvān of Bengāl and Behār for about twenty years, was joined with him, and the order was issued that they should act together like Muzzaffar and the Rāja. But the partnership did not last long. Khvāja was transferred to the Panjāb as a governor, and Rāi Patar Dās after a short period of independent vizārat was removed from the office on charges of bribery.[2]

During the period of Khvāja Shams-ud-dīn's term of office separate dīvāns were appointed in each province, and they were placed directly under the chief dīvān of the central government.[3]

in mathematics, physics, astronomy and in all branches of knowledge, and that the king respected him for his learning, wisdom and practical skill: but the Mīr destroyed whatever was left of the dignity of the learned by running after the king like a messenger with a gun on his shoulders, and by going to the house of the amīrs to teach their sons.

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 569. Bev., p. 862. *M.U.*, II, pp. 123–9.

[2] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 380. *A.N.*, III, pp. 741 and 758. Bev., p. 1133. *M.U.*, II, p. 139.

[3] *A.N.*, III., p. 670. Fortieth year. Reference to such appointments has already been made, but it appears that, up to this date, the provincial dīvāns were under the governors and they acted under their supervision as provincial officers. This arrangement places them directly under the chief dīvān and makes them independent of the control of the governor. All the twelve appointments were made afresh.

The khālsa lands were divided into four divisions and placed under different persons. But the arrangement does not appear to have continued long, and there is no mention of it, nor were any fresh appointments made.[1]

In the thirty-seventh year, Kashmīr was organized like other provinces, and in the thirty-ninth year it was partitioned into jāgīrs. The plan was prepared by Qāzi 'Alī Baghdadī and carried out by Āsaf Khān.[2]

Āsaf Khan succeeded Rāi Patar Dās to the dīvanī, and continued in the office till the forty-ninth year, when Muqīm Khān, dīvān-i-buyūtat, was raised to this office with the title of vazīr khān, and in the fiftieth year the department was placed under the supervision of Prince Salīm and orders issued that 'the dīvāns should manage the affairs of the kingdom in accordance with the advice of Prince Sultān Salīm, and that his seal should be affixed to the grants of the mansabs to officers'.[3]

This should be regarded as the last arrangement made by Akbar. It was done in proper order and in a befitting manner to close the controversy of the succession, to ease the mind of the successor to the throne, and to afford peace of mind to the king in his last days after the worries and anxieties of the last five years.

Akbar's Dīvāns

Name		*Year of the Reign*	*Period*
(1) Muzzaffar Khān (i)	...	9th–17th	= 11 years
vakīl and dīvān (ii)	...	22nd–24th	

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 605. Thirty-sixth year. (1) Panjāb, Multān, Kābul, Kashmīr under the Khvāja. (2) Ajmere, Gujrāt, Mālvah under Khvāja Nizāmuddīn Ahmad. (3) Delhī under Rāi Patar Dās. (4) Āgra, Allahābād, Bengāl and Behār under Rāi Rām Dās.

[2] *A.N.*, III, pp. 617–9, 626–7, 648 and 727.

[3] *A.N.*, III, pp. 838–9.

Name	*Year of the Reign*	*Period*
Shihāb-ud-dīn (in charge of khālsa lands)	13th–21st	= 8 years
(2) Khvāja Shāh Mansūr Shīrāzī	21st–24th	= 3 years
(3) Rāja Todar Mal		
(*a*) under Muzzaffar ...	22nd–24th	= 10 years
(*b*) chief dīvān ...	27th–30th	
(*c*) under Mīr Fatahulla	30th–34th	
(4) Vazīr Khān	24th–25th	= 1 year
(5) Qulīj Khān	25th–39th	= 14 years
(6) Mīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī ...	30th–34th	= 4 years
(7) Khvāja Shams-ud-dīn Khavāfi	34th–43rd	= 9 years
(8) Rāi Patar Dās ...	43rd–44th	about 1 year
(9) Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī ...	44th–49th	= 5 years
(10) Muqīm (vazīr khān) ...	49th–50th	= 1 year
Prince Salīm put in charge of the department	50th year	No fixed period

Thus, during the period of about forty-two years (9th–50th), there were ten dīvans, who held the office in turn, and at times as colleagues with one another. As the above figures show, there was no fixed period for the office. The changes were made in accordance with the needs of the time or on account of the death of the office holder. Muzzaffar and Rāja Todar Mal were twice transferred from the dīvān to the field for military service in Behār and Bengāl. Khvāja Shams-ud-dīn, Qulīj Khān, Vazīr Khān, and Āsaf Khān were sent as subedārs to different provinces. Shāh Mansūr was executed for high treason and Rāi Patar Dās removed for bribery. Rāja Todar Mal and Mīr Fatahulla died while in office. The last one, Muqīm, continued for some time under Jahāngīr, while Āsaf Khān became vakīl under him.

The classification of the period

Thus the transfers or removals were not due to any definite policy of keeping the dīvāns in office for a fixed or limited period.

The forty-two years of Akbar's dīvāns can be

divided into three different periods from the administrative point of view.

In the first period, from the ninth year, when the office was created, to the twenty-fourth, when the ministry of Muzzaffar was broken, the office was mostly occupied by Muzzaffar, Shāh Mansūr and Rāja Todar Mal. During this period of fifteen years, Muzzaffar was connected with this office for eight years, independent of either of these two. They worked with him only in the last two years of his term of office. Thus the greater part of this period belongs to him: he was ably supported by both his colleagues, and prior to them by Khvāja Jahān and Shihāb-ud-dīn.

The second part begins from Muzzaffar's transfer to Bengāl, whither Rāja Todar Mal followed him. Thus Mansūr worked single-handed and the credit of this period's work entirely belongs to him.

It was in the twenty-seventh year that Rāja Todar Mal got a chance for independent action, and carried out his reforms which were mostly connected with the collection of revenue and the duties of officers connected with it. His influence lasted for three years, when Mīr Fatahulla Shīrazī, specially invited by Akbar from the Deccan, was made the chief dīvān and Rāja Todar Mal was relegated to a secondary position. Like Muzzaffar, Mansūr and the Rāja, Fatahulla also took a keen interest in the reform of the department and carried out several measures with success. The second period ended with the death of both the Mīr and the Rāja in the thirty-fourth year. Both of them were supported in their work by Qulīj Khān, who had entered the department in the twenty-fifth year.

Thus Rāja Todar Mal was junior to Muzzaffar in the first period and was eclipsed by Mīr Fatahulla in the second, but he remained conspicuous by his

unflinching courage, exemplary loyalty and integrity. In the words of Abul Fazl, 'he was the unique of the age for uprightness, straightforwardness, courage, knowledge of affairs and the administration of India'.[1]

The third period begins from the thirty-fourth year, in which Qulīj Khān was the survivor of the second group, but though he remained five years more in office, his name is not conspicuous. Of the five dīvāns of this period, Khvāja Shams-ud-dīn alone is conspicuous for his work, and though he does not reach the mark of distinction attained by the prominent dīvāns of the first two groups, he was noted for his uprightness, frankness and efficiency. Maāsir says, 'he was second to none in these qualities among his contemporaries'.[2]

Thus it was through these efficient ministers of the first and second group, Muzzaffar, Mansūr, Rāja Todar Mal and Mīr Fatahulla, that Akbar achieved success in his early measures and consolidated his Empire.

The appointments of Muzzaffar and Mansūr from ordinary posts to ministership without any recommendation testify to the excellent choice of Akbar. The respect he showed to the Rāja and the Mīr, and the expressions he used about them, give proof of the esteem he had for their work and efficiency.

The remarks of Akbar that financial matters fell into confusion when Mansūr was executed and an insertion in the appointment order of Mīr Fatahulla that he should look carefully to the pending busi-

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 569. Bev., p. 862. To this remark the author adds: 'If he had not bigotry, conventionalism and spite (kīna tozī), and had not stuck to his own opinions (bar gufta-i-khud na tanīde), he would have been of the spiritually great. A wound was given to disinterested work (by his death) and the market of business lost its briskness.'

For his share in the administration see Moreland, *The Agrarian System*, pp. 86, and 255–8.

[2] *M.U.*, I, p. 668.

ness show that during that period the department had suffered in efficiency; and the case of Rāi Patar Dās reveals that bribery was possible, even as late as the forty-third year of Akbar's reign, when every branch of the administration was purged. However, when a vigilant monarch like Akbar sits upon the throne neither slackness in duty nor irregularity in the conduct of officers can be ignored. Both the defects were detected and prompt action taken.

On the whole, Akbar's dīvāns were efficient, loyal and hard-working. They were men of learning and culture and possessed the character which education and the training of the mind is expected to build. There were at times signs of rivalries and personal animosities also, concerning official rank, but the vigilance of the monarch kept them within control and they were not allowed to affect the administration.

Akbar respected them for their efficiency and loyalty, but he never sacrificed discipline, and proper action was taken whenever any occasion arose for it. He left behind him a tradition for placing the right man in the right place and made efficiency and loyalty the sole test for promotion and distinction.

THE violent mode [illegible] passes through three different stages. The first covers the first six years of the reign and may be called experimental. The [illegible] on the throne. The atmosphere around him was neither clear nor encouraging [illegible] of his father's ministers and officials was not yet fully [illegible] tion and continued [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] in this position and he was finally transferred to Bengal, as a diwan of the province but with the same grade and rank, and Ghiyas Beg, the diwan-i-buyutat, was made Wazir-ul-Mulk's colleague in his place, and given the title of I'timad-ud-Daula.[3]

This was purely a personal choice, and the appointment was exactly similar to that of Muzaffar

[1] [illegible] of the position of Khan-i-A'zam [illegible] were opposed to him.

[2] Tuzuk, p. 8. [illegible] p. 12.

[3] Tuzuk, p. 9. [illegible], p. 56. AkN, III, p. [illegible]

The experimental stage

CHAPTER V

Part II

THE DĪVĀNS UNDER JAHĀNGĪR

OUTLINE

The Three Stages

1. Experimental: Muqīm (Vazīr Khān), Akbar's dīvān, confirmed; later on Vazīrul-Mulk attached to him.

Muqīm transferred to Bengāl. Ghiyās Beg made dīvān and given the title of I'timād-ud-Daula. I'timād-ud-Daula removed from office and again raised to power. Khvāja Abul Hasan as Āsaf Khān's nāib at the court.

The chief features of this period.

2. I'timād-ud-Daula the chief vazīr and the sole dīvān. I'timād-ud-Daula's rise due to (*a*) his personal qualifications, (*b*) the influence of his daughter, (*c*) the lack of competitors. I'timād-ud-Daula's position in the administration.

Sir Thomas Roe's impressions of the minister's position.

3. Political situation and complications. Their effect upon administration. All energies absorbed in the problem of succession. Khvāja Abul Hasan remained the dīvān throughout this period. Abul Hasan Āsaf Khān made vakīl in the last year of the reign.

Pelsaert's account of the period: corroborated by the contemporary writer, Mu'tamad Khān and the later chronicler Lāhorī of Shāh Jahān's reign.

THE vizārat under Jahāṅgīr passes through three different stages. The first covers the first six years of the reign and can be called experimental. The king did not find himself quite safe on the throne. The atmosphere around him was neither clear nor encouraging. The loyalty of his father's ministers and officials was not yet fully ascertained.[1] He followed the path of moderation and reconciliation and confirmed even those officers who had openly opposed his accession to the throne, and, though, he says, 'I had determined with myself that I would exact no retribution for past deeds,'[2] he needed time to watch them and to test them.

The experimental stage

This position naturally led him to rely upon his own partisans. Sharīf Khān, a companion of his boyhood who had stood by him in his troubled days, was the first to attain distinction and was made the vakīl of the Empire. The vizārat remained under Vazīr Khān (Muqīm) who was appointed in the forty-ninth year of Akbar's reign, but he was not trusted, and a few months later Khān Beg, who was given the title of Vazīr-ul-Mulk by Jahāngīr before his accession, was attached to him. Vazīr Khān was not considered safe even in this position and he was finally transferred to Bengāl, as a dīvān of the province but with the same grade and rank, and Ghiyās Beg, the dīvān-i-buyūtāt, was made Vazīr-ul-Mulk's colleague in his place, and given the title of I'timād-ud-Daula.[3]

This was purely a personal choice, and the appointment was exactly similar to that of Muzzaffar

[1] Ministers of the position of Khān-i-Ā'Zam Koka and generals like Mān Singh were opposed to him.

[2] *Tuzuk*, p. 6. Tr. p. 15.

[3] *Tuzuk*, p. 9. Mu'tamad, p. 55. *M.U.*, III, p. 933.

by Akbar. Thus at the close of the first year, Amīr-ul-Umarā Sharīf Khān was the vakīl, and the dīvānī was shared by Vazīr-ul-Mulk and I'timād-ud-Daula.

The first year was occupied by the revolt of Khusrau; in the beginning of the second year Sharīf fell seriously ill, and a fresh appointment became necessary. Āsaf Khān, a tried man of Akbar's time and former mīr bakhshī and the dīvān, was given a chance. The choice was an excellent one. Āsaf Khān had a brilliant record of service and was esteemed for his capacity and learning, and was called sāhib-i-saif o qalam. He requested the appointment of Khvāja Abul Hasan to look after the office work under him. He was placed at Āsaf Khān's disposal, but his position was more of an assistant than a vazīr and Mu'tamad Khān says that he was taken by Āsaf Khān to look after the office and the records.[1] In the same year Vazīr-ul-Mulk was made mīr bakhshī and I'timād-ud-Daula was deposed from his office in connexion with his son's conspiracy to release Khusrau.[2] Thus the work passed entirely into the hands of Āsaf Khān and Abul Hasan, and the arrangement continued till the fourth year when Āsaf Khān was sent to the Deccan. Nothing is mentioned in the memoirs about Abul Hasan's position after the transfer of Āsaf Khān, but it appears from Hawkins' account that he acted in his place and was in power when Hawkins reached Āgra in 1609;[3] but he calls him the chief vazīr, which is incorrect.

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 50. Mu'tamad, pp. 28 and 307. *M.U.*, I, 737.

[2] No mention is made in the memoirs or by Mu'tamad of the cause of his removal. *M.U.* says that he was imprisoned and released on the payment of a fine of two lacs of rupees in the fourth year (p. 129). His son Sharīf was executed along with others (Mu'tamad, p. 55. Rogers. p. 123).

[3] Hawkins, p. 90. Abul Hasan was opposed to Hawkins.

Though I'timād-ud-Daula was restored to his post in the fourth year, yet Abul Hasan appears to have dominated the affairs of the department, and he was conspicuous both in the darbār and in councils.[1] This position continued till the sixth year.

The chief features of the first stage

The chief characteristics of this period are that Jahāngīr made free use of his power like Akbar in the appointments of his vazīrs, and in all changes, transfers, and appointments, the post was not given to any topmost officer or high amīr. Āsaf Khān was an exception, but he was transferred to the Deccan and was never given a chance to return to the court. Secondly, the post could no longer be filled by any amīr or military commander. It was now a specialized branch of administration which required an acquaintance with the routine of the office work, combined with a technical knowledge of revenue and finance, and literary accomplishment. Thirdly, the system of joint-colleagues established by Akbar was also continued, but with the difference that, while Akbar had divided the office work between the colleagues,[2] Jahāngīr divided the work according to the political divisions of the Empire. Fourthly, owing to the rapid changes in the office, none of the vazīrs was able to dominate the king, and Jahāngīr had a free hand in every sphere of his administration.

[1] Hawkins: 'When I made arse [arz, petition] unto the king concerning my living, he turned me over to Abul Hasan, who not only denied me my living, but also gave order that I be suffered no more to enter within the red vayles, which is a place of honour where all my time I was placed very near unto the king, in which place there were but five men in the kingdom before me' (p. 91).

[2] The world of the Empire was divided half-by-half (az qarar-i-manāsifa). I'timād-ud-Daula was appointed 'vazīr of the half-dominions' in place of Vazīr Khān (*Tuzuk*, p. 9). 'I told Dost Muhammad that as I am going to the Punjāb and that province is in the dīvānī of I'timād-ud-Daula, he should send him to the court' (p. 27).

The second stage

The second period of the vizārat begins from the sixth year, when I'timād-ud-Daula was made the sole vazīr of the dominions, and ends with his death in the sixteenth year.

I'timād-ud-Daula

The marriage of Jahāngīr with Nūr Jahān, in the sixth year of the reign, entirely changed the position of the vazīrs. Khvāja Abul Hasan was sent to the Deccan and I'timād-ud-Daula became the chief dīvān. But it is a mistake to believe that I'timād-ud-Daula owed his rise, distinction, and strong position in the government entirely to the influence of his daughter over the king. It was his personal capacity, efficiency and literary accomplishment which had impressed the king, as it did others who came in contact with him. He was appointed dīvān in the first year of the reign at a time when Jahāngīr was trying new men and avoiding old and influential officials. He owed his appointment to his personal qualification and it was made without any recommendation. He received a set-back by his son's part in the conspiracy, but he had been in office for two years since his own release from imprisonment, and it was a sufficient period to convince the king of his loyalty and efficiency; and Jahāngīr says, 'on the basis of seniority in service, extent of sincerity, and experience in the affairs of government, I exalted I'timād-ud-Daula to the high office of vizārat of the Dominion'.

His rise due to (1) his personal qualifications

(2) the influence of his daughter

The marriage connexion also gave him an advantage which he fully utilized, but throughout his career he relied more upon his work than upon any external influence, which could never be considered permanently secure and safe.

(3) the lack of competitors

His rise and continued enjoyment of prestige and power were further due to the lack of competitors in the central government. After Amīr-ul-Umarā Sharīf, and Āsaf Khān, he was senior in the ministry. Khvāja Abul Hasan was not appointed dīvān and

he was not confirmed in the office. There were two others who could be expected to come to the front. One was 'Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān, the king's old tutor. He had held the vikālat also for some time, and had all the chances and claims by his rank, position and status. The other was Khān Jahān. He was a great favourite of Jahāngīr, and during the first two or three years he had gained considerable influence, and was termed farzand (son) even in official correspondence and farmāns.

But both of them lost their position in the Deccan. Khān Khānān was the first to be discredited.[1] Khān Jahān tried to take advantage of the situation and offered his services. The offer was accepted and he was given the command, but he failed miserably in his duties and also failed to rise above personal rivalries and dissensions. Thus both of them remained away from the court and could not get any chance to return to the capital with distinction and honour. There was none else to compete with the new dīvān. The field was left for him and his rise was rapid.[2]

Thus personal qualifications gave him a chance, the marriage connexion facilitated his task, absence of competitors strengthened his position, and his tact and peaceful nature kept him secure in his office. In the beginning of the sixth year he held the rank of 1,500 only, but within a year he got two increments which gave him the rank of 2,000 zāt and

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. ɔ2. Reports against Khān Khānān were received and he was recalled. Fifth year. Mu'tamad, p. 45.

[2] *Tuzuk*, pp. 9, 95, 97, 106.

Mu'tamad, pp. 54–6. He is very imperfect in his account. Hawkins was present at the court when I'timād-ud-Daula was appointed vazīr and he says, 'Now one Gaihbūg, being the king's chief treasurer (a man that in outward show made much of me and was alwayes willing to pleasure me when I had occasion to use him) was made Chief Vizīr' (p. 94).

12

500 horse, and in the seventh year he was raised to 4,000 zāt and 1,000 horse, a rank which made his personal position worthy of the high office he held.

I'timād-ud-Daula's position

It is not possible to trace I'timād-ud-Daula's part and influence in the administration to the same extent to which it is possible in the case of Akbar's dīvāns. Jahāngīr had no Abul Fazl as his chronicler. Mu'tamad is too brief, and in spite of his learning, he did not possess a taste for dry facts or the mastery of details like Abul Fazl. Besides this, the department had developed and the constructive work was completed. The success of the king and the dīvān consisted in strictly following the rules and regulations fixed under Akbar and in giving them the permanency of law.

During the greater part of I'timād-ud-Daula's term of office Jahāngīr remained on tour in Ajmere, Mālva and Gujrāt. The vazīr was with him throughout the period of five years and four months (eighth year to thirteenth) A detailed study of the events of the period gives a very clear idea of Jahāngīr's personal interest in the affairs of the Empire, and his hand is traceable in every branch of the administration, in the conduct of wars, appointments of generals, equipment of armies, transfers and fresh appointments of provincial governors and other officers; but one fails to notice the hand of the sole minister who was with the king and was held by him in the highest esteem. There are only a few cases in which his influence outside his department is felt, as for example:

(*a*) Tenth year. On the request of I'timād-ud-Daula, Diyānat Khān was released from the fort of Gwaliār, and his confiscated property was restored to him.[1]

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 149. Later on he was also given the balance of his pay (p. 163).

(*b*) On the request of I'timād-ud-Daula, Rāja Mān was appointed to the command of the army against the fort of Kāngra (the Panjāb).[1]

(*c*) Twelfth year. On the request of I'timād-ud-Daula, I'tiqād Khān was allowed to do kornish.[2]

(*d*) On the request of I'timād-ud-Daula, Allah Dād Khān, who had fled from the army without permission, was allowed to return to the court.[3]

In these cases his name appears as a minister recommending certain persons to the king's consideration. But, on the other hand, he appears to have enjoyed the king's full confidence and real power in his own department. The absence of any record of departmental cases being referred to the king suggests:

(1) That the routine of the work was fully established and ordinarily there was no need to refer every matter to the king.

(2) The dīvān had the king's full confidence and exercised his powers fully and thus there was no opportunity for others to approach the king above the minister's head.

(3) The dīvān used his powers with tact and caution, and there were no conflicts with other high officials and amīrs which would have necessitated such special reference to the king as one found under Akbar in the cases of Muzzaffar and Rāja Todar Mal.[4]

Jahāngīr's remark upon his vazīr's death fully illustrates this point, and his power, alluded to in the following extract, was definitely the power which

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 164. Murtazā Khān who held the command was dead.

[2] *Tuzuk*, p. 185.

[3] *Tuzuk*. He reached the court at Kashmīr in the fifteenth year, and was pardoned and restored to his rank of 2,500 zāt and 1,200 horse.

[4] The absence of such records in the memoirs is the definite proof of the smooth working of the department. One who studies Jahāngīr's memoirs and notices his mastery of details and his inquisitive nature cannot think that important administrative affairs brought to his notice would escape his pen and entry in the regular diary of this period.

he wielded in his own department. 'What shall I say about my feelings through this terrible event? He was a wise and perfect vazīr and a learned and affectionate companion (musāhib) . . . Though the weight of such a kingdom was on his shoulders, and it is not possible for or within the power of a mortal to make everyone contented, yet no one ever went to I'timād-ud-Daula with a petition or on business who turned from him in an injured frame of mind. He showed loyalty to the sovereign and yet left pleased and hopeful him who was in need.'[1] Mu'tamad Khān's statement about him also emphasizes this trait of his nature.[2]

Thus I'timād-ud-Daula was highly respected by the king, every honour and distinction was conferred upon him, but his influence was limited to his department and Jahāngīr continued to conduct the government in his own way during this period without the domination of any vazīr or amīr.

Impressions from Sir Thomas Roe's account

Sir Thomas Roe was present at the court during this period of I'timād-ud-Daula's glory, and his account of him creates the same impression. He has made mention of him on ten different occasions, and in all these mentions there is not the slightest indication of his influence over the king.

According to Sir Thomas Roe's account, Prince Khurram was the dominating personality and Āsaf Khān was attached to him in his official business. Roe had to deal with them both for his case which was connected with the fort of Surat, which at that time was under that prince, but neither of them appears to have had any influence over the king. Both were rebuked in an open darbār on Roe's report against them in his personal matter.[3]

[1] *Tuzuk*, sixteenth year, p. 339. Tr., p. 222.

[2] Mu'tamad, p. 55.

[3] Roe, pp. 119, 121–4. Roe's report p. 130, and discussion p. 131. Roe and Āsaf Khān, pp. 133, 188. Āsaf rebuked by the king, pp. 222, 235.

His description of an interview with the king and discussion in his case gives an accurate idea of the position of all of these in the darbār. Sir Thomas Roe put his case. Āsaf Khān supported it. Prince Khurram opposed it. 'Āsaph Khān whispered his father in the eare, desiring him to reade the letter, and to assist us. . . .' The discussion followed, the king questioned them all and the case was decided in favour of Roe.[1]

Whenever Roe felt disgusted at the evasive replies of the prince or became despairing of Āsaf Khān's support, he always said that he relied on the king against them and that he would speak to him again.

On two occasions Sir Thomas Roe's account shows that Prince Khurram, Āsaf Khān and Nūr Jahān were in league, and their efforts at that time were directed against Prince Khusrau with a view to facilitate the accession of Khurram to the throne after Jahāngīr, but these facts concern only the particular case mentioned therein and not other administrative affairs.[2]

Jahāngīr himself says that 'in counsels on state affairs and government, it often happens that I act according to my own judgement and prefer my own counsel to that of others'.[3]

In the third year of the reign he appears to have appointed Jahāngīr Qulī Khān (Islām Khān), a young man, governor of Behār and, after a short time, of Bengāl. He performed excellent service againt the rebel 'Usmān Afghān, and the king says that several high servants passed unfavourable remarks at his appointment and spoke against him on account of his youth and lack of experience, 'but I appointed him on the strength of his capacity and personal qualities for which he was my favourite, and he performed the

[1] Roe, p. 420. [2] Roe, pp. 245, 340, 369.
[3] *Tuzuk*, p. 32. Tr., p. 68.

service, the like of which was not yet rendered by any one else'.[1]

Similarly the recall of Khān Khānān from the Deccan and his disgrace on his arrival in the fifth year,[2] the disgrace of Khān-i-Ā'Zam, his imprisonment in the eighth year, and his release in the ninth on the ground that Jahāngīr saw Akbar in a dream recommending his case,[3] the appointment of three governors in the twelfth year and that of Muqarrab Khān to Gujrāt in the thirteenth, are examples of his independent actions. These were the highest and most trusted officers of the Empire. They were dealt with by the king on the merits of their case. The minister in office neither possessed an unbounded influence nor was he a man of assertive or intriguing nature.

The third stage

The third period of vizārat begins after the death of I'timād-ud-Daula and with the appointment of Khvāja Abul Hasan as dīvān in the sixteenth year of the reign.

The political conditions and their effects

The remaining six years of Jahāngīr's life were spent in constant illness and worries. Early in the seventeenth year, the crisis at Qandhār became acute and it was decided to send a large army to reconquer it from the Persians. The king returned from Kashmīr to Lāhore to look to the preparations and general arrangements. The dīvān was ordered to arrange the dispatch of all available troops to Khān Jahān at Multān, who was to proceed to Qandhār.

The arrangements were hardly complete when the news of Shāh Jahān's open revolt and of his march upon Āgra reached the king. This changed the entire situation and created complications which Jahāngīr could not solve till the end of his life, and from the administrative point of view this may be

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 102.
[2] *Tuzuk*, pp. 86 and 88.
[3] *Tuzuk*, pp. 126 and 132.

considered the end of Jahāngīr's personal rule. He had neither health nor peace of mind.

It was the period when he had lost his health and his condition continued to grow worse. Pelsaert says in connexion with his frequent visits to Kashmīr during this period: 'The reason of the king's special preference for this country is that, when the heat in India increases, his body burns like a furnace.'[1] Jahāngīr himself says: 'As in consequence of the weakness that came over me two years ago and still continues, heart and brain do not accord.' His position is further brought out in a passage of his own, which he wrote on the news of Shāh Jahān's march upon Āgra in the seventeenth year: 'From the kindness and favours bestowed upon him, I can say that up till the present time no king has conferred such on his son. What my revered father did for my brothers I have done for his servants. . . . It will not be hidden from the readers of this record of prosperity what affection . . . I have bestowed on him. My pen's tongue fails in ability to set them forth. What shall I say of my own sufferings? In pain and weakness, in a warm atmosphere that is extremely unsuited to my health, I must still ride and be active, and in this state must proceed against such an undutiful son. . . . But that which weighs heavily on my heart, and places my eager temperament in sorrow is this, that at such a time when my prosperous sons and loyal officers should be vying with each other in the service of Qandhār and Khurāsān . . . this inauspicious son has struck with an axe the foot of his own dominion and has become a stumbling-block in the path of the enterprise . . . but I trust that Almighty God will remove this grief from my heart.'[2]

Shāh Jahān's activities led to the concentration of

[1] Pelsaert, p. 35.

[2] *Tuzuk*, p. 353. Tr. Beveridge, Vol II. Seventeenth year.

all the imperial forces against him. Mahābat Khān was given charge of the entire expedition. The king moved with the army, and the battle which took place near Delhī gave victory to the royal army, but the defeat of Shāh Jahān's forces did not end the trouble and his activities continued for nearly three years till he finally submitted in the twentieth year.[1]

These events not only affected the administration of the central government but also of the provinces of the Deccan, Gujrāt, Mālva, Bengāl and Allahābād, which were the scene of battles and military engagements during this period.

Hardly was this affair over when the failing health of the king diverted the activities of the powerful nobles and courtiers to the issue of succession, and in this problem Nūr Jahān and Āsaf Khān took the leading parts. In the beginning they united against Mahābat Khān who had gained much power and considerable influence with the army in the last expedition and was much attached to Prince Parvez to whom both the queen and her brother were opposed. Their active opposition drove Mahābat Khān to despair, and when orders were issued to him in the name of the king to present himself at the court, he foresaw the danger, and while obeying the orders, he came well prepared with four to five thousand Rajpūt troops. When on arrival he was refused audience, he took the matter into his own hands and struck an unexpected blow at his opponents. When the king was marching from Kashmīr towards Kābul, he arranged a *coup d'état*, and succeeded in surrounding the camp of the king when the royal army had moved on, and took the king into his custody. Thus surrounded, Jahāngīr continued his march under Mahābat's escort.

This affair occupied another year, and it was in the twenty-first year that Jahāngīr finally regained his

[1] *Tuzuk*, pp. 397, 398, and 400.

liberty and Mahābat Khān was again deputed against Shāh Jahān.

The following year was occupied with the activities which divided Nūr Jahān and Āsaf Khān. The death of Prince Parvez removed the common enemy and the struggle for succession remained between Shāh Jahān (Āsaf Khān's son-in-law) and Shahariyār (the son-in-law of Nūr Jahān), in which finally Āsaf Khān triumphed by his cool courage and statesmanship.

During the last year of Jahāngīr's reign when he returned to Lāhore from Kābul, Āsaf Khān was appointed the vakīl of the Empire and the governor of the Panjāb. Now he was at the head of the government. He possessed power and influence, and besides this, Nūr Jahān was supporting a weak cause. Shahariyār was no match for Shāh Jahān.

Āsaf Khān was supported by all the high officers and nobles of the state, and he easily overcame the opposition offered to his candidate's cause at Lāhore, and Shāh Jahān succeeded to the throne with the full support of all the ministers of the Empire.[1]

Thus the energies of all the ministers of the state were engaged by political troubles and by

[1] The events of this period can best be studied in *Iqbāl Nāma* by Mu'tamad Khān who was the second bakhshī and mīr-i-tuzuk, and thus attached to Jahāngīr's person and an eye-witness of all the events. He censures Āsaf Khān for his activities against Mahābat (p. 253) and blames him for his negligence in not taking proper care of the king (p. 254); explains Mahābat's surprise appearance and his own interview with him (pp. 254–5, n.); describes the efforts of the nobles against Mahābat to release the king, the battle led by Nūr Jahān on an elephant and failure (pp. 259–65); retreat of Āsaf Khān to Multān and his capture by Mahābat's men (p. 276); Nūr Jahān's activities against Mahābat at Kābul, where she had joined Jahāngīr (pp. 270–5). Mahābat accepts her terms and leaves the camp, and Āsaf Khān set at liberty (pp. 276–8). The entire negotiations were conducted in the name of Nūr Jahān through Afzal Khān. Her words, her tone and her wrath at Mahābat's hesitation to surrender Āsaf Khān deserve notice (p. 277).

anxieties for the future. There can be no doubt that administration must have suffered considerably.

In the third period and the last stage of Jahāngīr's administration, the hand of Nūr Jahān is traceable in all matters of high policy. She not only dominated the king, who must have lost all power of judgement, but also dealt directly with political matters, appointments, and transfers of governors, and it is obvious that her activities were not in the best interests of the Empire. She was a highly cultured woman, noted for her intellect, intelligence and managing capacity, and love for the poor, but when power passed into her hands she failed miserably like many other women in her position.

Pelsaert's account

It is to this period that Pelsaert, who was at Āgra at that time, refers. 'Her former and present supporters have been well rewarded, so that now most of the men who are near the king owe their promotion to her[1] and are consequently under such obligations to her, that he (Jahāngīr) is king in name only, while she and her brother Āsaf Khān hold the kingdom firmly in their hands. . . . The king does not trouble himself with public affairs, but behaves as if they were no concern of his. If anyone with a request to make at court obtains an audience or is allowed to speak, the king hears him indeed, but will give no definite answer of yes or no, referring him promptly to Āsaf Khān, who in the same way will dispose of no important matter without communicating with his sister, the queen, who regulates his attitude in such a way that the authority of neither of them may be diminished.'[2]

[1] Pelsaert, p. 50. But this remark cannot apply to ministers. It goes to the credit of the system that no change was made in the ministers, although they were all opposed to the queen, and she, in spite of her power and influence, could not take courage to change them.

[2] Pelsaert, p. 51. He was at Āgra between 1621 and 1627, and thus his stay exactly corresponds to the third period noted above.

The same state of affairs is also revealed in the remark of Mu'tamad Khān, who says that the affairs reached such a state that 'Jahāngīr's bādshāhī remained in name only'.[1] It is further revealed in Lāhorī's words who, writing in the reign of Shāh Jahān, points out that all the troubles in the last reign of Jahāngīr were due to the efforts of Nūr Jahān to place her son-in-law, Shahariyār, on the throne so that her influence might continue; and in connexion with her death he says 'she had such an influence in all the affairs of state that it does not befit a chronicler to record its details here'.[2]

[1] Mu'tamad, p. 57. But his remark should be read in full. He speaks very highly of her personal qualities and regard for the poor and orphans.

[2] Lāhorī, I, p. 169; II, p. 475.

CHAPTER V

PART III

THE DĪVĀNS UNDER SHĀH JAHĀN

OUTLINE

Shāh Jahān's task much simpler—all ministers confirmed.

1st Year:

Appointment of Irādat Khān, the mīr bakhshī of the last reign.

2nd Year to 12th Year:

Irādat Khān transferred to the Deccan. 'Allāmī Afzal Khān, king's favourite and the learned dīvān of princely days.

13th Year to 19th Year:

Islām Khān, the Governor of Bengāl and king's companion of princely days. Internal arrangement of the office of the dīvān.

19th Year to 30th Year:

The dīvān's transfer to the Deccan. Sa'dulla Khān, the favourite and learned young dīvān. His rise from low rank. His learning and managing capacity. His frankness in official matters. The case of Prince Dāra Shikoh decided against him by the dīvān and its sequel. His military services. The settlement of Balkh and the dīvān's powers. Other military expeditions. His position compared with other ministers'. His death and its effect upon the king. Shāh Jahān's letter to Mīr Jumla at the dīvān's death.

30th Year:

The temporary arrangement of the post. The appointment of Mīr Jumla. His transfer to the Deccan, but post reserved for him. His son allowed to act with Rāi Rāyān. Further internal arrangements of the office.

31st Year:

Rāī Rāyān and Ja'far Khān as joint dīvāns. Ja'far Khān transferred to Mālva. Rāī Rāyān the sole dīvān.

Continued under Aurangzeb.

A review of Shāh Jahān's dīvāns.

The list of Shāh Jahān's dīvān's and assistant dīvāns.

The dīvān's department and office work.

SHĀH JAHĀN, after his accession to the throne, had no such difficulty in selecting his ministers as was experienced by Akbar and Jahāngīr. Instead of the conflicting objects and personal rivalries of Mun'im and Atka Khān and Adham Khān under Akbar, and the ever-suspected dīvān Vazīr Khān, and never-trusted vakīl Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān had his father-in-law, Āsaf Khān, as his vakīl who was already the first man in the state and a person to whose influence, tact and cool courage alone he owed his throne. The dīvān (Abul Hasan), the mīr bakhshī (Irādat Khān), another bakhshī, (Mu'tamad Khān—a man of no less influence than the ministers)—and the mīr sāmān (Mīr Jumla), were all loyal supporters of the vakīl whom they had helped in securing the throne for his son-in-law. Old ministers confirmed

Having regard to the services rendered by Abul Hasan to the throne and the support given by him to Āsaf Khān, one would naturally expect that he would continue as dīvān, but Āsaf Khān recommended Irādat Khān for the post and had him appointed in place of Abul Hasan. This is the only instance in which the dīvān or vazīr was the nominee of the vakīl. Abul Hasan himself had been nominated by his patron Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī under Jahāngīr, but he was not given the rank of dīvān.[1] Irādat Khān

A reference in *Chahārchaman* shows that on the whole Abul Hasan not had been a convenient colleague to Āsaf Khān,[2] but his nominee did not

[1] It is curious that in both cases Abul Hasan alone is concerned. He was nominated in the early days of one reign and removed under similar circumstances in another.

[2] p. 91.

enjoy the position long, and the following year he was sent to the Deccan as a governor,[1] and the learned scholar 'Allāmī Afzal Khān, the most trusted dīvān and counsellor of the king in his days as a prince, was appointed in his place.

'Allāmī Afzal Khān

Afzal Khān continued in the office for ten years till his death in the twelfth year of the reign. As the trusted dīvān and a highly respected man he naturally had considerable influence in the administration of the state, and Āsaf Khān could not get any chance to dominate as vakīl. Afzal Khān remained with the king in all his tours, and besides his administrative work, he had charge of the drafting of farmāns; during this period all important farmāns, particularly those addressed to other rulers, were drafted by him.[2] His position, and ascendancy over the vakīl in state affairs, is further revealed in the tenth year of the reign, when Shāh Jahān fell ill and was in bed for nineteen days. Afzal Khān was admitted to the bedroom for state affairs.[3]

The author of *Chahārchaman*, who owed his rise to Afzal Khān and remained with him on all occasions, is the best authority for this period; but he lays more stress upon the personal character,

[1] With the title of Ā'Zam Khān, under which he appears after this.

[2] In the Panjāb Tour: seventh year, Lāhorī, I. Tenth year, Lāhorī, II, p. 234. With Daftar and his staff, Lahore, twelfth year, Lāhorī, II, pp. 91, 117.

Letters to Nazar Muhammad Khān, ruler of Balkh, sixth year, Lāhorī, II, p. 466.

Letters to the ruler of Īrān, sixth year, Lāhorī, II, p. 478.

Draft of the treaty in the form of a farmān to 'Ādil Khān (Bijāpur), ninth year, Lāhorī, II, p. 203. Letter to Qutbul Mulk demanding the ring with the famous yāqūt (cornelian) stone, ninth year, Lāhorī, II, p. 209.

Lāhorī, II, p. 132, in connexion with his death, and the king's visit to his residence during his illness, speaks of the confidence he enjoyed. He served the king in all 28 years and died at the age of 70.

[3] Lāhorī, II, p. 244.

capacity, and position of the officials with whom he came in contact than upon their administrative work. Though he speaks highly of his patron as a capable, efficient and popular dīvān, a statement which is supported by Shāh Jahān's personal appreciation, yet he does not describe the work done by him for the department. At one place only he declares that 'he introduced certain regulations for the administration of Revenue and Finance based upon the considerations of the prosperity of the Ra'īyyat and calculated to increase the prayers for king's prosperity and give himself a good name. . . .'[1]

His conception of vizārat

Besides his personal capacity, literary merits and high position, Afzal Khān appears to have been very modest and unassuming and, like I'timād-ud-Daula, a man of peaceful nature. Shāh Jahān himself said that Afzal Khān never spoke a word against anyone in his presence.[2]

[1] and [2] Brahman, pp. 94–5. He also records his famous sayings which give an idea of his conception of vizārat. (1) 'There are two kinds of vazīrs—one who listen to the king carefully, understand him and act upon what is told to them; the others are those upon whose word the king acts and upon whose considered opinion he relies. We who are vazīrs in this age cannot understand correctly or carry out what we are told by the king, according to his will and pleasure. How can we attain the other position?

(2) A king needs a large capital. If there is not sufficient money in the treasury, an army cannot be raised; if there be no sufficient army, there can be no peace and established government in the country, and where there is no peace there can be no revenues. The king's treasury is full when the country is well governed and is prosperous, and prosperity comes when the master of affairs (i.e. the king) understands all matters and attends to them personally.

(3) Though an army can be raised by money, yet the establishment of peace in the country and the conquest of the hearts of the people is never possible without a chief and a commander (i.e. head of the government and vazīr), who should be a man of wide outlook, courage and experience, possessing considerable self-restraint and pleasant manners, but he should also possess confidence and full powers to increase or decrease the rank (of State officers and servants), to give rewards, to maintain or dismiss (from service), and have a sufficiently

Islām Khān

Islām Khān, who held the governorship of Bengāl, was appointed the dīvān-i-kul. He had started his career as a clerk, and by his personal capacity and loyalty had risen to the rank of an amīr. He was also attached to the king in his days as a prince, and had for some time been his representative at the court. Since his accession to the throne he had acted as second bakhshī, and mīr bakhshī, and rendered good service as a governor of Gujrāt and Bengāl.

The arrangement of his post and of the departmental work till his arrival from Bengāl incidentally gives an idea of its internal working and the personal supervision of the king.

The internal arrangement of the office

Diyānat Rāi (Rāi Rāyān), who held charge of the khālsa section of the department, was appointed as acting dīvān, and the order was issued that (*a*) all affairs of the dīvānī should be put before the king and Diyānat Rāi should deal with matters of detail and routine, (*b*) Ja'far Khān should take charge of the register of mansabdars' salaries, put all matters connected with it before the king and sign it according to orders, (*c*) asnāds (certificates) of jāgīrs should also be signed and sealed by him.[1]

Brahman supplies further details in the same connexion. He says: 'Diyānat Rāi signed the registers of jāgīrs and put his seal upon the parvānas of dīvāns and krorīs which is the work of the dīvān-i-a'lā, but according to royal instructions the place reserved for the dīvān-i-a'lā's seal and signatures was

large number of tābīnāns (personal troopers) so that he can call to account the highest amīrs and nobles of the Empire.'

Thus he believes in a vazīr who should possess both civil and military power and the king's full confidence to exercise his discretion. He must have the highest rank and position in the state, without which he cannot have the largest number of tābīnāns depending upon his official rank. The vazīrs of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, did not, as a rule, possess the highest rank in the state.

[1] Lāhorī, II, p. 132.

left blank. As the draft of answers to the settlement of accounts[1] was solely the function of the dīvān-i-a'lā, Rāi Rāyān several times tried to do it, but he was checked by Rāi Subhā Chand[2] who was in charge of that section and noted for honesty and selflessness, and he did never let him do it.'

Islām Khān took over charge of his duties in the thirteenth year of the reign and continued in office till the nineteenth year, when he was transferred to the Deccan as governor of all the four provinces.

Rāi Rāyān continued in his former post, and it appears that as an old officer of the department, he had considerable influence there. Islām Khān could not continue with him, and the Rāi resigned the post of his own accord and was appointed the dīvān-i-buyūtāt. Brahman says that it was only after his transfer that Islām Khān came to be regarded as the virtual dīvān.[3]

The Khān combined in his person the ability of a vazīr and the dignity of an amīr. 'He was hard-working, and a man of strong will and assertive nature, and highly sensitive of his honour.' He used to say that the management of affairs of the entire world is the work of one Perfect Man. He was also an efficient military general and had a good record in Bengāl. His military capacity and sound learning had earned for him the name of Sāhib-i-Saif o Qalam (Master of Pen and Sword). He was a good writer and a poet as well. He also accompanied the king during his tours and military expeditions like Afzal Khān, and was always anxious to do the entire work himself and never liked the interference of others.

[1] Brahman, pp. 100–1. This would mean the settlement of accounts due from jāgīrdārs and passing orders in the same connexion, a work of great responsibility.

[2] Made dīvān of Lāhore in the thirteenth year.

[3] Brahman, p. 102.

He had a passion for work and was very exacting from others.[1]

His transfer and the appointment of Sa'dulla Khān present a very interesting example in the appointments of the dīvāns. At the death of Khān-i-Daurān Nusrat Jang, a highly efficient military general and governor of the Deccan, the king asked Islām Khān to suggest any name for this post. The dīvān promised to recommend someone after considering the matter. He went home and consulted his chief advisers and friends, and they suggested several names. The Khān did not agree with any of his friends, and when asked whom he wanted to recommend, he replied that he would suggest his own name for the post. It surprised them all, but they were silenced when he explained to them that His Majesty was very favourably inclined towards Sa'dulla Khān and it was better for him to vacate his place himself rather than be excluded from it on any pretext.

He spoke to the king and accordingly the king asked, 'Who would act for you?' He replied that there was none more deserving than Sa'dulla Khān. Shāh Jahān said, 'Accepted'. The Khān got an increment and leave to depart to his new post. Sa'dulla Khān was first made an acting dīvān and a few months later was confirmed in his post as dīvān-i-kul.[2]

[1] Lāhorī, II. Brahman, pp. 100–2. *M.U.*, I, pp. 162–6. MS. Add. 16,703, F. 9. MS. Add. 26,141, Fs. 23 and 24a.

[2] Sa'dulla Khān's reputation as a scholar had come to the notice of the king during his visit to Lāhore in the fourteenth year of the reign. He was presented before the king by Sadr Mūsavī Khān and was enrolled in the personal staff of the king as rozīna dār (on cash salary, literally on daily allowance). Thus he was not given any grade nor included among the mansabdārs. During the course of one year, he got the grade of 1,000 zāt—200 horse and was given the post of arz-i-mukarrar, usually given to the most trusted person known to the king, and the following year was made the dārogha-i-ghusal khāna (superintendent of the

His rise, like many others', was due to his personal merit, efficiency and loyalty. It was also a personal choice of the king and a further and stronger proof of the recognition of merit against the distinctions of birth, rank and wealth. It also emphasized the requirements which had become associated with the post.

Sa'dulla's rise

Sa'dulla Khān was decidedly the most learned, the most efficient and the best dīvān of Shāh Jahān. He combined in his person the highest literary accomplishment of his age with an extraordinary capacity for the management of officers placed under his charge.[1]

His capacities

Chandra Bhān says that 'in drafting his notes on accounts, revenue and financial matters he needed neither the help of his secretaries nor the expert opinion of his auditors'. 'In learning and scholarship his presence reminded one of Abul Fazl.'[2]

In departmental matters, and also in affairs of general policy, Sa'dulla Khān appears to have gained, through his efficiency, frankness and uprightness, the perfect confidence of the king and a sort of general respect which he continued to enjoy till his

private chamber), an office of still greater confidence. In the seventeenth year he was made mīr sāmān with 2,000 rank, and in the eighteenth year given the rank of 3,000. In the nineteenth year he was made the dīvān-i-khālsa and put in charge of the drafts of farmāns. The same year he became the dīvān and after it the dīvān-i-kụl in the grade of 5,000. In the twentieth year he was given the rank of 7,000, in recognition of his services in the Balkh expedition; and an allowance of one kror dāms annually (Rs. 2½ lacs), in the twenty-third year.

[1] Besides Persian and Arabic, he knew the Turkish language. He was a pleasant conversationalist and a fluent speaker and was considered superior to the scholars of Irāq and 'Ajam. (Brahman, p. 195.) Brahman worked as his assistant and was his favourite companion; he writes about him as he judged him from personal contact, not as a mere subordinate official but as a friend connected with him in all other activities of his life as well. He says, 'at times I remained with him from evening till midnight'.

[2] Brahman, p. 105.

death. His position and influence combined with his own conceptions of his duties[1] must have facilitated his task and enabled him to create greater efficiency in his department.[2]

He was assisted in his work by Jaswant Rāi (15th–22nd year) and by Raghunāth Rāi (23rd–30th year) who acted as dīvāns of the khālsa, and by Chandra Bhān Brahman in the section of farmāns.[3] His relations with all of them were exceedingly cordial.

His frankness

'In all matters connected with his duties, he always tried to follow the path of justice and honesty. In the realizations of government's dues, he never tolerated any injury to the collectors or hardship to the cultivator. Hindustān grew prosperous during his vizārat. Though a prince like Dāra Shikoh was opposed to him yet no complaint of his did ever affect him.' This is the judgement of a later writer based upon materials which have not reached us.[4] It is corroborated by a statement of Aurangzebe who said that on one occasion Bhārā Mal, the dīvān of Dāra Shikoh, presented certain accounts before the king and claimed two lacs of rupees as arrears due from the Government. Shāh Jahān gave the papers to Sa'dulla Khān and asked him to submit his report after verifying the account from the dīvānī office. Sa'dulla at once remarked that such amounts were

The case of Prince Dāra Shikoh

[1] Brahman, p. 110. He used to say that the only pleasure one can have in the company of kings consists in the exercise of the power to benefit the people, and it was only on this ground that great men of the past preferred it to the pleasure of living aloof from them.

M.U., II, p. 449. 'Honesty is a good thing. Loyalty to the salt is an approved principle, but in matters of the master which concern the poor loyalty consists in having regard for the latter.'

[2] MS. Add. 6,588, F. 79. Reforms in the duties of krorīs—the creations of circles (*chaklas*) by grouping together several parganas and placing each circle under an amīn faujdār deprived the krorīs of their faujdarī powers. Their allowance was also reduced from ten to five rupees per cent.

[3] MS. Or. 1,690. F. 97. Brahman, p. 106.

[4] *M.U.*, II, p. 449.

not paid from the treasury and the demand was against the rules. Thus the matter ended. The verdict of the dīvān was final.

Dāra Shikoh who was also present, spoke harsh words to Sa'dulla Khān after the dispersal of the court. The clerk of the ghusal khāna where the whole affair had happened reported the matter personally to Shāh Jahān, who at once wrote a letter to the prince: 'To quarrel with a man of pure heart is to do wrong to one's own self. One who strikes a sword at the mirror, kills himself by that stroke.[1] . . . It is bad to injure the feelings of royal servants and specially of one like Sa'dulla Khān. To win their hearts is an act of good policy . . . and the means of increasing the prosperity and popularity of the ruler.' Towards the close of the day, the king sent several pieces of mahmūdī and embroidered cloth as a gift to his favourite dīvān and thus his honour was upheld, and the matter closed.[2]

Shāh Jahān appears to have consulted his dīvāns in matters of high appointments as well, though he was personally acquainted with all high officials of the state. In this connexion the appointment of Sa'dulla Khān and the transfer of Islām Khān, in which the dīvān's recommendation for the appointment of a subedār was asked, has been referred to above; one more case comes through Aurangzebe, who says that on one occasion Sa'eed Khān Bahādur[3] recommended a case to Shāh Jahān and spoke highly of his candidate. The king approved of his recommendation, and expressed pleasure at his

[1] and [2] MS. Add. 6,588, F. 51.

[3] Sa'eed Khān the son of Sa'eed Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang was given the title in the twenty-fifth year of the reign and after it deputed to Kābul where he remained till the thirtieth year. Thus the case either refers to the twenty-fifth year (as the word Bahādur appears with the name) or to the thirtieth when he might have returned before the death of Sa'dulla Khān in the same year. (MS. Add. 6,588, F. 50a.)

bringing forward suitable persons and deserving cases, yet the order was issued that 'the dīvān-i-ā'la should test his capacities and recommend some suitable post for him'.[1]

His military services

Besides his departmental affairs, Sa'dulla Khān took an active part in the Balkh and Qandhār expeditions during his term of office.

In the first expedition when Prince Murād, who had charge of the army, expressed his desire to return to the court, he was reprimanded for leaving the newly acquired territory unsettled, and Sa'dulla Khān was sent with oral instructions to persuade him to remain where he was.[2] But he persisted in his demand, and fell out of favour; he was deprived of his rank and jāgīr and ordered to go to Multān and not to leave the place without further orders. Sa'dulla Khān was given charge of the country and entrusted with its entire management.

The settlement of the conquered country and his powers

He was instructed to make the revenue settlement of the province, and was given powers:

(*a*) To inquire into the condition of the people and make reductions in rent wherever necessary.

(*b*) To award compensation in cash for damages done to the cultivation by the movements of the army.

(*c*) To award jāgīrs there to officers drawing a cash salary if they so desired.

(*d*) To advance suitable loans, up to the amount of three months' salary, to those who might be in need.

(*e*) To enlist new soldiers from the province, and also,

(*f*) To recommend deserving cases of officials for increments in rank and salaries on the basis of

[1] MS. Add. 6,588, F. 50a.

[2] Lāhorī, II, twentieth year, pp. 857–8 clearly reveals the conception of the Mughals about their duties towards the conquered territory. The matter refers to the occupation of Balkh, after the flight of its ruler Nazar Muhammad Khān.

services rendered by them in the expedition and the settlement of the new territory.[1]

These instructions give an idea of the scope of the minister's activities, the extent of his position and of the confidence reposed in him. He successfully carried out the orders, and on his return was rewarded with an increment of 1,000 horse in his rank.[2]

In the twenty-second year, he was attached to Aurangzebe, and again in the twenty-fifth year, he led a large army himself to Balkh before Aurangzebe left Multān. On both these occasions, he showed his capacity and skill in the management of the field, organization of sieges, running in of mines, erection of mūrchāls (entrenchments for besieging fortified walls), and other necessary arrangements.[3]

His other military expeditions

He returned to the court in the twenty-sixth year, when the siege was given up, and led an army the same year against Rāna Rāj Singh who, contrary to the terms of the treaty made by his grandfather under Jahāngīr, had repaired the fort of Chittore. According to the orders of the king, the fortifications were demolished.[4]

[1] Lāhorī, II, twentieth year, pp. 560–1. Lāhorī says that although the king, on account of the confidence he reposed in Sa'dulla Khān and the secrets of governments and power of decision he possessed, never tolerated his separation from the court; yet need was felt for a trusted person who might be acquainted with the king's desires and temper, and at the same time possess such a position and experience that all might rely upon his word and action, and seek their satisfaction in his pleasure and entertain fear at his disapproval; hence the king decided to send Sa'dulla Khān to Balkh.

[2] Lāhorī, II, p. 584. He travelled from Balkh to Kābul in four days in spite of all the difficulties of the way. When his intention was reported to the king, he sent him four horses from the royal stable to help him in case his horses failed him. Recommendations made by him were accepted and cases of promotion included the names of Sa'dat Khān, Ikhlās Khān, Hayāt Khān, Rūp Singh, Rām Singh and Gokal Dās (p. 595).

[3] Sālih, II, MS. For his part in expeditions and rewards in that connexion see pp. 307, 354, 394, 407, 408, 438, 454, 469–72. *M.U.*, II, pp. 446–8. Brahman does not mention them.

[4] See n. 3 for references.

His position compared with other ministers'

Thus Sa'dulla like Abul Fazl proved himself equally capable in the field, but his part in these expeditions must be distinguished from the work done by other ministers like Mun'im and Muzzaffar, Amīrul Umarā and Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī in the previous reigns, in similar circumstances. They acted as military generals and commanders, apart from their duties as ministers. Their connexions with their office ceased when they left the court as military generals, while Sa'dulla Khān went out in the capacity of the first minister, and wielded power and discretion as such. His case was similar to that of Āsaf Khān Abul Hasan, when he was deputed to the Deccan in the third year of the same reign.[1] As his personal prestige and influence were needed to create unity among the generals and ensure speedy action, so was Sa'dulla's being sent to Balkh considered unavoidable.

His death and its effect upon Shāh Jahān

The sudden death of Sa'dulla in the thirtieth year of the reign, when clouds of trouble were gathering round, deprived Shāh Jahān of his most trusted, loyal and efficient vazīr at a time when he needed him the most. He was the first man in the state and a popular dīvān. His position and popularity combined with his influence over the king might have enabled him to solve the intricate problems and save the situation.

Sa'dulla Khān was not only the best dīvān of Shāh Jahān but can also be regarded as the best of the long line of the Mughal vazīrs. The position he holds in history and which was assigned to him by contemporary writers does not appear to have been assailed even by his immediate successors. The author of *Irshād-ul-Vuzarā*, writing under Aurangzebe, selected only four names[2] from the list

[1] Lāhorī, II, p. 319.

[2] MS. Or. 233, Fs. 64–5. Abul Fazl, I'timād-ud-Daula, Āsaf Khān Abul Hasan, Sa'dulla Khān, besides Mīr Jumla who is to be included under Aurangzebe.

of the ministers of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, and among them Sa'dulla Khān occupies the highest position. His remark that though a Panjābī, yet he was a man of high learning and great capacity,[1] still more enhances his position, without detriment to the Panjābī intellect.

Shāh Jahān's letter at his death

The letter which Shāh Jahān wrote to 'Ali Mardān Khān at his death further reveals the position the dīvān occupied in his master's estimation and the king's grief at his loss. There can be no better testimony of a vazīr's loyalty and capacity and no better recognition of his real worth and merit than that which Shāh Jahān showed to Sa'dulla Khān during his life and expressed in his letter at his death.[2]

The temporary arrangements

The death of Sa'dulla Khān left Shāh Jahān practically without a dīvān and a trusted counsellor. Rāi Raghunāth Rāi, the dīvān of the khālsa, like Diyānat Rāi was given an officiating chance, and the title of Rāi Rāyān was conferred upon him, and Chandra Bhān Brahman with the title of Rāi was entrusted with the work of drafting farmāns. The officiating dīvān in this case also acted under the same orders which were passed in a similar case before. The place reserved for the seal and signatures of the dīvān-i-a'lā was left blank and all important matters were transacted under the direct supervision of the king.

Mīr Jumla

Mīr Jumla with the title of Mu'azzam Khān was appointed the dīvān and he took charge of his duties four months after the death of Sa'dulla Khān; but the same year he was deputed to the Deccan, and his son, Muhammad Amīn Khān, was allowed to officiate for him, and sign the papers, but the seal of Mu'azzam Khān was still used.

[1] MS. Or. 233, Fs. 64–5. (*a*) 'Agarche Panjābī būd bisyār Fazīlat ba isti'dād dāsht.' (*b*) He is equally sarcastic about I'timād-ud-Daula and Āsaf Khān (F. 68, pencil marked).

MS. Or. 1,843. There are many mistakes on this page of the MS. MS. Or. 1,873, F. 232.

[2] MS. Or. 1,892, Fs. 107–9. See Facsimile in the appendix.

When his stay in the Deccan was prolonged and the work suffered, Raghunāth Rāi was again given a chance, and this time with greater powers, and Muhammad Amīn was removed from the dīvānī and made bakhshī. Raghunāth was allowed to put his signatures on all papers, including the draft of the answers of muhasabāt, a right which was neither allowed to Diyānat Rāi nor to Muhammad Amīn. Later on, Vazīr Khān, another man of the department, was attached to the acting dīvān and ordered to put his signatures on all important papers under the signatures of Rāi Rāyān. None of them was allowed to put his seal. Mu'azzam Khān was still kept in the office and his seal was used.[1]

Ja'far Khān

In the thirty-first year Ja'far Khān was made the dīvān but Rāi Rāyān was allowed to continue in office and to sign the muhasabāt with the new dīvān and to put his seal on parvānas below Ja'far Khān's.[2] Chandra Bhān was now placed under Rāi Rāyān and transferred to the dīvān's office.

Thus the dual character of Akbar's reign was at this time revived, but again the joint dīvānī did not last long. Ja'far Khān was transferred to Mālva and Rāi Rāyān was left as the sole dīvān, and he continued in office as a permanent vazīr with the title of Rāja.[3]

[1] Sālih, the chief chronicler of this period, gives no information. Similarly, Sādiq Khān ignores these accounts. Brahman is the only contemporary writer and the most authentic because of his close connexions with the ministry.

[2] Ja'far Khān held the rank of 5,000 zāt and horse and Rāi Rāyān 1,000 zāt and 400 horse.

[3] He was given the title of Rāja by Alamgīr, promoted to the rank of 3,000 zāt and confirmed in his post, which he occupied till his death in the sixth year of his reign.

MS. Or. 1,690, F. 94; Add. 16,703, Fs. 140, and 515–62.

MS. Or. 1,892, Fs. 113–17.

MS. Add. 16,703, F. 140.

Sālih is very brief in the latter part of Shāh Jahān's reign, and from the year 28th to 31st, he practically supplies no information on these points (pp. 515–62).

The chief features of vizārat under Shāh Jahān

During thirty-one years of Shāh Jahān's reign there were six permanent dīvāns, and two besides them got officiating chances. Of this period, twenty-seven years were occupied by three dīvāns, Afzal Khān,[1] Islām Khān,[2] and Sa'dulla Khān,[3] and the remaining four years by the other three.

The chief features of vizārat under Shāh Jahān are the same which were noticed under Akbar and Jahāngīr. The same tradition of selecting the candidate for personal merit without any regard to position or rank was followed. Afzal Khān and Islām Khān were selected for their previous attachment to the king before his accession and Sa'dulla Khān was made the dīvān after five years' service in preference to all the high amīrs.

As they were selected for personal merit and loyalty to the king, two of them continued in office till their deaths, and one was transferred to the Deccan only to make place for a younger and more useful hand, and none was removed for any fault. Thus the tradition of a life-term established under Jahāngīr was continued.

Thirdly, the dual system which was the chief feature of the office under Akbar was tried for some time, but there was much difference between the two. Akbar tried it in cases of strong ministers like the Rāja and Muzzaffar, while Shāh Jahān utilized it in cases of new and inexperienced or officiating dīvāns.

Fourthly, the inner working of the department, incidentally revealed under officiating arrangements, shows that the system had greatly developed by that time and details which do not find place in the *Akbar Nāma* and the *Ā'in* of Abul Fazl were certainly the results of the later development during this period.

[1] Ten years, from second year to twelfth year of the reign.

[2] Seven years, from twelfth year to nineteenth year of the reign.

[3] Ten years, from nineteenth year to thirtieth year of the reign.

A sketch of the duties of the dīvān in his department is given below.

The Assistant Dīvāns of Shāh Jahān

Dīvān-i-Khālsa:

Diyānat Rāi	from	1st year	to the	14th
Bharā Mal	„	14th	„	15th
Jasvant Rāi	„	15th	„	23rd
Raghunāth Rāi	„	23rd	„	30th

Dīvān-i-Tan:

Rāi Mān Dās	from	1st year	to the	5th
Mīr Abdul Latīf	„	5th	„	9th
Diyānat Rāi	„	9th	„	14th (combined with the khālsa)
Jasvant Rāi	„	14th	„	15th
Mukand Dās	„	15th	„	16th (made the dīvān-i-buyūtāt)
Abdul Malik	„	16th	„	26th
Rāi Raghunāth Rāi	„	26th	„	30th (combined with the khālsa)

The Dīvān's Department and Office Work

The department of the dīvān included besides the dīvān-i-a'lā or vazīr.

(*a*) Dīvān-i-khālsa (for khālsa lands).
(*b*) Dīvān-i-tan (for salaries).
(*c*) Mushrif (chief accountant).
(*d*) Mustaufī (auditor).

Each of these branches was further divided into several sections according to the nature of the work. Each of these officers had a personal assistant or secretary and several superintendents of offices, and a large staff of clerks specially trained for and acquainted with the technique of the department.

The position of the first two officers was in accordance with the order of this list. They were the dīvān's subordinates and not his colleagues. The mushrif under Fīrūz Tughluq was next to the dīvān, and this position seems to have been main-

tained by Akbar. The mustaufī retained his importance as far as the nature of his work is concerned, but he ceased to be a high official of the state as he was under the Delhī sultanate.

Under Fīrūz Tughluq, the mustaufī sat on the right and next to the vazīr in the office of the dīvān,[1] but he had no such distinction under the Mughals. Bhagwān Dās was the most distinguished mustaufī of Akbar and he expressed great regret at his death, but the term he used for him on that occasion was 'dar bitikchīān bisyār kār ā gāh būd.' (He was very efficient among the clerks.)

Abul Fazl, in condemning Shāh Mansūr for his short-sighted policy in connexion with his strict demands from the jāgīrdārs of Behār, at a time when rebellion had broken out there, makes a difference between a dīvān and a mustaufī. 'He (the dīvān) is a vazīr who by acuteness and the strength of honesty preserves the revenue and also looks after the servants of God (bandigān). . . . He does not abandon what is suitable for the time and place, nor does he regard the collecting of gold as the finest of occupations. . . . Also the mustaufī should have something else to do besides clerking, stirring up strife and collecting arrears and increasing the revenue.'[2]

The dīvān in his office

The procedure followed in the dīvān's office, the nature of the work passing through his hands, and papers requiring his sanction give a clearer idea of his powers and duties than words or official terms can convey. As the head of the revenue department, he had his eye upon every officer of the state who drew his salary from the jāgīr. As the chief executive officer of the state, in addition to his revenue powers, he had control over provinces and provincial officers from the governor to the 'āmil and the patvārī. As finance minister, he had

[1] 'Afīf, p. 419. [2] *A.N.*, III, p. 315. Tr., p. 462.

his finger upon every pie (dām) that reached the royal treasury and went out of it. Thus his threefold duties kept him in touch with all the three departments of the central government besides his own, with amīrs and nobles, whether holding office or not, and with every part of the provincial administration. It was this general supervision which definitely gave him the first position among the ministers of the state. 'The office of the dīvān is concerned with all the affairs of the Empire. Hence its holder should, out of loyalty, regard the successful working of the entire government dependent upon him. . . . All high and exalted officers, like the powerful ba<u>kh</u>shī, the mīr sāmān, the buyūtās, the mushrifs, . . . and other servants, and zamīndārs and all other groups of people turn towards him.'[1]

Postings of officers

The postings of the following officers were made through him:

Headquarters (*a*) Subedārs, faujdārs, dīvāns, krorīs, amīns, and dāro<u>gh</u>as.

Provincial (*b*) Mushrifs, tahvīldārs of villages (stationed at the treasury office); <u>kh</u>azānchī, dāro<u>gh</u>as of the treasury, and clerks of the treasury office.

(*c*) Sazāvals (persons deputed by the central government to look to the execution of orders in important and urgent cases).

(*d*) Amīns and krorīs.

(*e*) Tahsīldārs (appointed to collect balances).

(*f*) Zamindārs (agents to collect rents).

Papers and orders issued by the dīvān which did not require king's sanction or signatures:

(*a*) Papers relating to the queries made by 'āmils and answers given to them by the department.[2]

[1] MS. Add. 6,599, F. 112.

[2] In cases of technical difficulties the collectors used to draft their queries and forward them to the central government for necessary orders; special forms were prescribed for the purpose of ensuring brevity and lucidity.

(*b*) Certificates of sanctioned appointments, and of cash salaries of princes, and orders for the payments of the same in parganas.
(*c*) Orders for the payment of salaries of subordinate officers and of commissions granted to treasury officers and krorīs.
(*d*) Orders demanding the payment of the pending balances due to the government.
(*e*) Orders for rendering necessary help.[1]
(*f*) Orders for confiscations for pending balances of account.
(*g*) Orders for the dispatch of balances in the provincial treasuries to the central government.
(*h*) Orders on matters particularly brought to his notice by the king.
(*i*) Communication of all royal orders issued to provinces, and regarding the army.
(*j*) Orders issued on the basis of reports received from the vāqi'a navīs.
(*k*) And on any other matter ordered by the king.

On all such orders issued by the office the dīvān put his special mark and signatures. They were countersigned by the dīvān-i-khālsa, who wrote the words 'examined the mark and noted the signatures'.[2]

Dastaks or certificates issued by him to the treasuries and officers of the treasuries for:

(*a*) Payments of salaries on the basis of the central treasury's orders, and of advances to armies (if so ordered by the king).
(*b*) For passage.
(*c*) To government servants for taking charge of their duties.

Dīvān's signatures required on:

(*a*) Drafts prepared by the department on reports received from provincial dīvāns and 'āmils. Matters worthy of the king's notice were forwarded to him after the divān's signatures had been given, while the rest were dealt with by the department.

[1] It would mean help given to 'āmils by faujdārs in collecting rents in difficult and troublesome cases. Such orders required the revenue officer's sanction to justify the action of his subordinates.

[2] MS. Or. 1,641, F. 30b. and Add. 6,599, F. 151b.

(*b*) Demands for cash salaries of mansabdārs, barqandāzān (matchlockmen), and troopers.
(*c*) Demands for payments of cash salaries received from the office of the khān sāmān (mīr sāmān).
(*d*) Cash balances in the royal treasuries, reports about zamindārs, registers of accounts received from bakhshīs' office; and statements of balances of revenues. All of these papers were laid by him before the king.
(*e*) Accounts audited by mustaufīs.
(*f*) Sureties taken for service and for payment of balances, etc.

In addition to these duties his office kept a record of all revenue and financial statements, and regularly demanded certain papers to be submitted to his office by provincial dīvāns, amīns, krorīs and treasury officers of the Empire.[1]

His office received copies of all royal orders, and they were forwarded by him to the office of the bakhshīs and khān sāmān (mīr sāmān).

The dīvān's office was divided into different sections for the proper discharge of these duties, and the work allotted to each section was clearly defined:

Section (*a*) dealt with the reports and papers received from provinces;
" (*b*) dealt with the pending balances of revenues;
" (*c*) was concerned with parvānajāt issued by the department;
" (*d*) dealt with dastaks; and
" (*e*) with papers forwarded to the king.

In the departmental routine, it appears that the dīvān-i-khālsa had greater importance and responsibility than the dīvān-i-tan, and that he was not confined to khālsa lands only. As all papers requiring the king's signatures, or forwarded to him for information, necessarily required the chief dīvān's signatures, similarly all matters connected solely with the department passed through the

[1] Or. 1,641, F. 34 contains the list of all such papers submitted,

dīvān-i-khālsa, though in most cases he had only to write the words 'mulāhza shud' (seen) which showed that in such matters he had no discretion or power of action.[1]

In the same way all papers relating to cash salaries passed through the dīvān-i-tan, and in this connexion he kept a record of the following papers:

(*a*) List of mansabdārs received from the bakhshīs.
(*b*) List of revenues collected year by year.
(*c*) Forms of sureties taken from officers and other servants.
(*d*) Register of branding and verification.
(*e*) Salary accounts of mansabdārs.

Office of the mustaufī

Like the office of the dīvān, the mustaufī's office was also divided into several sections which dealt separately with 'amils, pending balances, capital, revenues, treasuries, jāgīrs, conversion of jāgīrs into cash salaries, loans and arms.[2]

[1] The dīvān wrote a word or two on papers placed before him and terms were fixed for each kind of work. The form given below gives an example of such terms added with signatures. (Or. 1,641, F. 151.)

Tasdīq	*Yād Dasht*	*Roz Nāmcha*	*Asnād*
(Entered in the Diary)	(Forward for revision, i.e. to the king)	(Seen)	(Granted)

[2] The facts of this section of the chapter from pp. 204–9 have been collected from MS. Or. 1,641, Fs. 31–6, and MS. Add. 6,599, Fs. 38, 112, 151–2 and 156, and various forms of appointments given in Add. 6,598, 6,599 and *Tārīkh-i-Shākir Khānī*.

CHAPTER VI

THE MĪR BAKHSHĪ

OUTLINE

Introductory: The separation of the military department from the vizārat as a safeguard against a vazīr's excessive power. Its development under Balban and 'Alā-ud-dīn.

The military department fully established under the Delhī sultanate.

Different names of the office. Duties of the office.

Change of name and the development of the department under the Mughals.

The mīr bakhshī in the administrative machinery of the central government.

The mīr bakhshī in the darbār. (1) Departmental work. (2) Presentation of candidates for service. (3) Presentation of soldiers and horses for inspection. (4) Presentation of high officials and visitors before the king. (5) Presentation of the names of the guards of the palace for rewards.

The mīr bakhshī in the ghusal khāna (private chamber).

The mīr bakhshī at the capital. Nominating the guards of the palace. Summoning the mansabdārs. Receiving the news-reports from the provinces to be put before the king.

The mīr bakhshī on tours with the king.

The mīr bakhshī and his other colleagues on the battlefield, in three different capacities: (1) General supervisors of the army and its arrangements, (2) as commanders, (3) working under a prince or any other high amīr.

Bakhshīs in the fighting line.

The mīr bakhshī in the office: (1) Issuing of dastaks (certificates) for appointments, postings and other similar matters, (2) other papers dealt with by him.

The joint duties of the first and the second bakhshī. The third bakhshī and his position.

The number of the bakhshīs. Neither given in the *Ā'īn* nor mentioned elsewhere; determined by the records of the period.

List of the prominent mīr bakhshīs of the period.

Some features of the office of mīr bakhshī.

THE position of the vazīr in Muslim monarchies, and the dangers emanating from the system of combining all civil and military power in the hands of one vazīr have been noticed in Chapter IV.

Under the Delhī sultanate, Balban appears to have fully realized such dangers, and in the light of the experience of the history of other monarchies, he devised a very reasonable safeguard against the powers of the vazīr by taking the military department out of his control and placing it under a separate minister. He emphasized the importance of this new office in his regime, and he used to say that it should be held by the highest khān of the kingdom and that he should be supreme in his department.[1] Under him, the office was held by 'Imād-ul-mulk whose efficient administration gave the office prestige, which seems to have been continued at least till the close of the Tughluq dynasty.

Bughrā Khān, while giving advice to his son Sultān Kaiqubād, also emphasized the point that there should be a separate minister for the army to whom all its affairs should be left.[2] Jalāl-ūd-dīn himself held that post before coming to the throne,[3] and in his reign he conferred the office on his brother Yaghrash Khān.[4] 'Alā-ud-dīn further increased its prestige and the military needs of his time greatly emphasized the importance of the department. Barnī speaks highly of its efficiency and says 'as far as the number of the army and its efficiency, and the test for shooting the arrow, and the regulation of the prices of horses are concerned, it has never been so before

[1] Barnī, p. 115. [2] Barnī, p. 153. [3] Barnī, p. 197.
[4] Barnī, p. 174.

in any reign, nor is it recorded in any history, nor does anyone remember to have witnessed it'.[1]

The office is again seen at its height under Fīrūz, when it was held by his trusted slave Bashīr 'Imād-ul-mulk, who was noted for his managing capacity and efficiency. His position as a favourite of the king combined with his efficiency greatly raised the status of the office and the prestige of the department.[2]

Thus a new department became established as a part of the central government. In the Delhī sultanate it appears under several names all of which carry the same idea without any distinction: *Rāvat-i-'Ariz* (Barnī, pp. 114, 115); *'Arz-i-Mamālik* (Barnī, pp. 174, 197, 248, 423. Mubārak Shāhī, pp. 251, 252); *Dīvān-i-'Arz* (Barnī, pp. 60, 114, 360, 477. Afīf mostly uses this term, pp. 298, 443); *'Āriz* (Barnī, p. 116. Mubārak Shāhī, pp. 56, 135, 202).

The duties of the dīvān-i-'arz

The position of the head of this department and the importance of the office is clearly brought out in several scattered passages of Barnī. 'Imād-ul-mulk of Balban on one occasion said, 'The king is the master of the army, I am its chief, and the army is the defender of the subjects of the Dominions'.[3] On another occasion, addressing the officers of his department from his masnad, he said, 'Listen to me all of you that I am the defender, the helper, and the upholder of the rule of kings, because they have given their army in my hand and left the opening and closing of all its affairs to me. If I neglect my duty and do not always keep myself busy with the thought of gathering troops and do not regard the troopers dearer than my brothers and

[1] Barnī, p. 335.

[2] 'Afīf, p. 443. The king's equally favoured vazīr Maqhūl, in spite of his position, power and king's favour stopped the drum and the music when he passed by his door and removed his chatar when he rode out with him, and out of respect for him, never spoke to anyone else in his company (p. 444).

[3] Barnī, p. 116.

sons, I shall be considered disloyal to the salt and disgraced before the throne of God on the Day of Judgement. . . . If I do not look to the needs of the soldiers, my office is useless and vain.'[1]

Thus the rāvat-i-'arz of Balban or the dīvān-i-'arz of Fīrūz was the representative of the king and the head of the military department. He was supreme in his department as Balban said, 'dar dīvān-i-'arz ū mutlaq-ul-'inān bāshad' (p. 114). He had direct access to the king, and the officers of the departments placed their annual reports regarding the army and the muster directly before the king.[2] 'Imād-ul-mulk of Fīrūz had free access to the king and he could approach him at any time.[3]

The recruitment of the army, the maintenance of troops in good order, holding of military tests, the inspection of horses, and the muster of troops at regular intervals and equipping them for expeditions, appear to have been the permanent duties assigned to this department.

It is evident from this sketch of the functions and duties of the dīvān-i-'arz that the institution existed in the Delhī sultanate and that by the time of Fīrūz, it had acquired considerable influence and prestige in the administration. It changes its name at the arrival of the Mughals in India, and Akbar developed it on his own lines to suit the requirements of his Empire.

The word 'bakhshī'

Bakhshī is 'a word probably from the Sanskrit bhikshu which appears in East Turkī and Persian during the Mongol period; it denotes in the first place the Buddhist priesthood and in this meaning

[1] He used to help the soldiers with horses and cash from his own pocket and likewise gave twenty thousand tankas every year from his salary to be divided among the subordinate officers and servants of the department with the request that they should make no illegal deductions from the salary of the soldiers. (Barnī, pp. 116–17.)

[2] 'Afif, p. 298. [3] 'Afif, p. 437.

is equated to the Chinese Hoshang, Tibetan Lāma and Uighur Toin. Writers of Turkish origin also had to write documents destined for the Mongol and Turkish population in Uighur script. . . . In the Empire of the Indian Mughals, the bakhshī was an official of a high rank who had charge of the registration of a body of troops and had to pay them'.[1]

Sir Denison Ross in his index to the *Travels of Marco Polo* has pointed out that bakhshī was the title of a class of lāmas, formerly regarded as a corruption of the Sanskrit bhikshu, and for further reference he has given *T'oung-Pao*, 1916.

These pages contain the article of Barthold Laufer on 'Loan words in Tibetan Language', and in it he deals with the word, bakhshī, in connexion with the Uighur word Pag-si. He says[2] that Chandra Das has justly combined this word with Mongol Baksi. 'The Mongol word has the meaning teacher and is synonymous with Sanskrit guru and āchārya. In *T'oung-Pao*, 1914 (p. 44) I have given some indications on the word, disconnecting it from Sanskrit bhikshu and stating that according to Tibetan source . . . it is derived from the language of the Hor; that is the Uigur.'

Further he says that the word is familiar to the Uigur language and 'there is every reason to assume that the Mongols received the word like many others from the Uigur', and thus the derivation from Sanskrit bhikshu must definitely be abandoned. In Central Asia baksi never had the Buddhist significance 'religious mendicant' (bhikshu). Baksi as a military office under the Mohammadan Emperors of India and the Anglo-Indian buxee (pay-master) are independent words to be dissociated from the Uigur Chinese term.

Thus it appears that the office of the mīr bakhshī

[1] *Encyclopædia of Islām*, p. 600. [2] p. 777.

was peculiar to the Mughals in India, but the military department which was placed under him had already developed as a separate department under the Delhī sultanate.

The mīr bakhshī of the Mughal empire enjoyed all the powers of the dīvān-i-'arz, as the head of the department, but his influence extended beyond his own department, and his nearness to the king in the darbār added much to his prestige. The recruitment of the service on military lines, the dependence of the rank of an officer on the number of soldiers required to be maintained by him, and the payment of his salary on the presentation of the stipulated number of horsemen, at fixed intervals, naturally led to the division of the powers of the vazīr, and the chief bakhshī became an equal sharer with him of his responsibilities and prestige.

The mīr bakhshī in the administrative machinery of the central government

This position is clearly brought out in the preparation of royal farmāns and the stages through which they had to pass. All orders of appointment to mansabs of all ranks, and to the high offices of the state, such as vikālat, vizārat, and sadārat, passed through the chief bakhshī. An appointment order, having reached the stage of the ta'līqa (see Chapter III), and carrying with it an award of jāgīr and the condition of the dāgh (branding) was forwarded to him. He looked to the enforcement of the regulations in the case, supervised the branding of the horses, inspected the stipulated number of soldiers, and specified the amount of the monthly salary on its basis. He kept the ta'līqa (abridgement) received by him, and gave in its stead a certificate signed and sealed by him, called sarkhat.

It was on the basis of this certificate that the dīvān made entries in his records, which he put before the king for sanction.

The sanction thus obtained, was again reported to the chief bakhshī, and it was after his signatures

and the seal that the dīvān forwarded it to the vakīl.

Like the farmāns, parvānchas and barāts also passed through him, and on all such orders when completed, he put his seal side by side with that of the dīvān of the Empire.[1]

Thus his influence extended to all the departments of the central government and he dealt with them on an equal footing.

The mīr bakhshī in the darbār

As the head of the military department, he was in touch with every mansabdār, and hence his presence in the darbār formed a part of his permanent duties.

Departmental work

In this capacity he stood on the right side of the throne and put before the king all matters connected with his department.[2]

Presentation of candidates

He presented all the candidates for service. 'Īrānīs, Tūrānīs, Rūmī, Firangī, Hindī and Kashmīrī came for service, their salaries were fixed by proper officers according to the regulations, and the bakhshīs presented them before the king.'[3]

Presentation of soldiers and horses

The soldiers and horses of the mansabdārs after the dāgh-o-tashīma (branding and verification) in cases of fresh appointments, and at regular intervals in cases of permanent officers, were also presented by the bakhshīs before the king.[4]

Presentation of officials and visitors

As the head of the department, he presented before the king all high officers of the state coming from the provinces or leaving the capital for their headquarters as well as the embassies and other distinguished visitors. Hawkins calls him 'Lieutenant-General' in this connexion.[5]

[1] *Ā'īn*, pp. 193–5. Bloch., pp. 260–3. See also Chapter III.

[2] See Chapter II.

[3] and [4] *Ā'īn*, p. 158. This duty could be performed by other bakhshīs also. The presence of the chief bakhshī was not essential. The word used in all such cases is bakhshiān. *Ā'īn*, p. 191.

[5] The cases of the mīr bakhshī introducing such visitors and officers before the king have been noted in the chapter on 'The King and State Business' and they need not be repeated here. Hawkins, p. 115.

Presentation of the names of guards for rewards

As the chief officer connected with the guards of the palace, he presented their names for rewards. The king gave them elephants, horses and other articles as well. 'The bakhshīs read out daily the names of the guards and other soldiers, mentioning such first as have never received anything before. His Majesty gives them horses. When a soldier has received a horse, he is not recommended to His Majesty for the space of a year for any other donation.'[1]

The bakhshī in the ghusal khāna

The chief bakhshī accompanied the king in the private chamber also and remained in attendance throughout the meeting. Thus he was in touch with all the important affairs of the Empire. Here, also, he took his stand on the right side of the king, and performed his usual duty of presenting the officers before the king. The case of Salābat Khān, the mīr bakhshī, is very conspicuous in this connexion. Rāo Amar Singh, a Rājpūt chief who held Nāgor as his jāgīr and had returned to the court after a few days' leave from home, was introduced by the mīr bakhshī to the king in the private chamber when Shāh Jahān had resumed the work after his sunset (maghrib) prayers. The Rāo went and stood in a line with others on the left side while Salābat Khān returned to his place on the right side of the throne. In the meantime, the king busied himself in writing a farmān, and Salābat Khān came down from the pavilion and began to converse with one of the nobles present there, who stood near the candlestick of four branches (shama'dān-i-chār shākha). While he was thus engrossed in conversation, Rāo Amar suddenly drew his jamdhar (dagger), ran with it and pierced Salābat's left side with such force that the entire blade of the jamdhar penetrated his chest and he died on the spot. Rāo Amar was at once attacked by Khalīl-ulla Khān and another bakhshī, and by Arjun, the son of Rāja Bīthal Dās, who struck him

[1] *Ā'īn*, p. 197; Bloch., p. 266.

with his sword: later others joined in the scuffle, and finally the Rāo was also killed.[1]

Under Shāh Jahān, the chief bakhshī was also admitted to the Shāh Burj on important and urgent matters.

The mīr bakhshī at the capital

As the chief officer of the state, and the head of the military department, he kept the list of the guards. The mansabdārs at the capital were divided into seven divisions and a day of the week was allotted to each. The duty was compulsory and was enforced strictly. The list was prepared by the chief bakhshī and presented before the king. The king supervised the changing of the guards every day.[2] Hawkins says: 'It is the custome of all those that receive pay of living from the king to watch once a weeke, none excepted, if they be well and in the citie.'[3]

There was the very interesting case of Shahbāz Khān under Akbar. His name was put on the list next to Mirzā Khān (afterwards 'Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān). He not only resented it but strongly protested before the king and exceeded the limits of politeness. He was imprisoned for his bad behaviour for some time[4] and placed under the charge of Rāi Sāl Darbārī.

[1] Lāhorī, seventeenth year, II, pp. 380–4. The inquiry revealed that the Rāo was suffering from some mental disease, due to excessive drinking, and had been ill for some time. He had a case of jāgīr dispute with Rāo Karan which was pending before the king, and Rāo Karan had lodged a complaint against his offensive attitude, and requested the appointment of an amīn to settle the dispute: Rāo Karan had also referred the matter to the mīr bakhshī, who had lately spoken to the king for him. No other cause besides this could be discovered. Both the victims were favourites of the king and he expressed regret at their deaths. At that time Rāo Amar held the rank of 4,000 zāt, 3,000 horse, Rāja Bīthal Dās 5,000 zāt, 5,000 horse, and Salābat Khān 4,000 zāt, 2,000 horse.

[2] Akbar did not miss it even on the day his mother died. He appeared in his mourning dress. (*A.N.*, III, p. 831.)

[3] Hawkins, p. 111.

[4] *A.N.*, III, p. 375. Twenty-sixth year. Shahbāz had at that time returned from his military duties in Bengāl.

Another important case of the guards is associated with the name of Shaikh Farīd, the mīr bakhshī, who saved a very critical situation by his bold use of the power of nominating the guards of the palace. At the time when Akbar was on his death-bed, and every hope of his recovery was lost, Khān-i-A'Zam, the vakīl of the Empire, and Rāja Man Singh, both of whom were interested in Prince Khusrau, were busy in their schemes to prevent the accession of Prince Salīm. The contemporary writer, Tahavvur Khān, says that Shaikh Farīd, who was anxious to see that no disturbance was caused in the city, took a very bold step at that time. He took the soldiers of the guard with him, went to the fort, took out all the heavy material of war and dispatched it outside the city, and himself walked courageously and with all befitting dignity to the residence of Prince Salīm, congratulated him and saluted him as king. All the nobles and officers who were watching the turn of events followed this lead and at once rushed with their armies and followers to do homage to Prince Salīm; and when the situation was thus changed, the mīr bakhshī took another step to checkmate the intrigues of the opposite party. He, as usual, issued the list of the guards and summoned all the nobles to the palace in a body.

The opponents of Salīm were taken by surprise, and, in spite of their large following, they could not take courage to defy him. It was after this arrangement that Prince Salīm went to see Akbar, who by chance opened his eyes for a short time, and casting a delighted glance at the prince, shed tears and bestowed his personal sword upon him. Thus it was the bold step of the mīr bakhshī and his use of his power of nominating the guards and summoning the mansabdārs that prevented the disturbance of

peace and facilitated the accession of Prince Salīm without bloodshed.[1]

The mīr bakhshī also received the news-reports sent by the vāqi'a navīs from different provinces and put them before the king. When the work of read-

[1] *Zubdat-ul-tavārīkh*, MS. Add. 100,580, F. 248. *M.U.*, p. 636. In connexion with this duty of the mīr bakhshī, Mr. Irvine in his book, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, thinks that the mīr 'arz mentioned in the *Ā'īn* on pp. 257 and 259 (Bloch.) is *probably* used for mīr bakhshī and this term came into force later on. He seems to have been misled by the terms dīvān-i-'arz and 'āriz of the Delhī sultanate. The mīr 'arz of Akbar neither conformed to the 'āriz nor to the mīr bakhshī. It was a separate office created for a distinct purpose. In the twentieth year of the reign when the system of kishik or chaukī was introduced, which required every servant residing in the capital to keep watch at the palace once a week, one of the amīrs on duty every day was also entrusted with the work of placing before the king the petitions of the people. 'An accomplished courtier was made mīr 'arz so that he might during the time of his watch represent the petitions and requests of mankind without reference to his own case and also the public be freed from the pain of waiting and from various troubles' (*A.N.*, III, p. 146. Tr., p. 207).

This duty was different from the management and supervision of the guards which was entrusted to another amīr, who was styled mīr kishik.

It is in this connexion that mīr 'arz is mentioned in the *Ā'īn* on the pages referred to by Mr. Irvine (p. 257 deals with kishik and p. 259 with the draft of farmāns in which the diary of the vāqi'a navīs was countersigned by the mīr 'arz).

But the sentence following the one pointed out by Mr. Irvine reads thus: 'All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (mīr 'arz and mīr kishik). They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue.' Certainly this mīr 'arz cannot be the mīr bakhshī, who had to be present elsewhere and to do his office work as well.

Later on it appears that the arrangement did not work well, and in the twenty-second year of the reign, the presentation of petitions was entrusted to Muhib 'Alī Khān, 'who was upright and experienced', and in the words of Abul Fazl, 'he was given permission to represent the petitions of the people and also to communicate what occurred to his reflections as proper to be done'; and it was considered necessary, because it is the dictate of wisdom that 'just rulers and other great ones who have the multiplicity of engagements should not be contented with their acumen and ability but should also permit some prudent

ing these reports was entrusted to Āsaf Khān, vakīl under Shāh Jahān, the mīr bakhshī used to take them to him and he also sat in the dīvān with the vakīl and brought to his notice the cases of the provinces

News reports from the Provinces

and well-conditioned and harmless man to make representations to them, so that at a time when there is a pressure of work or when wrath is in the ascendant which sometimes causes the foot of the wise to slip, he may lay before them suitable considerations' (p. 216. Tr., p. 304).

Thus the work was given to a person irrespective of his duty at the palace, but Muhib 'Alī Khān did not stay long at the court; he was appointed governor of Delhī and the old arrangements survived. In the twenty-fifth year when the work had greatly increased, a separate office was created for the purpose, after which it neither remained attached to the amīr on duty in the palace nor with any other amīr attached to the court, but was given to a whole-time officer: Mirzā Khān ('Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān) was the first to be appointed to this post. The reasons which led to the change of the arrangement are clearly recorded: 'On account of the number of suitors, increase of work, the brisk bazaar of cupidity (āzmandī) and the augmented stateliness of the august court, it occurred to His Majesty that a choice, high-born officer of high ability who possessed profound insight, disinterestedness and honesty should illustrate this great employment. By the glory of his being at peace with all, he was to make no distinction between acquaintance and stranger, friend and foe, but to lay before His Majesty all proper requests and at a fitting time to receive the replies to them. If by the accident of fortune . . . he did not receive a gracious reply, he should not allow himself to become melancholy, but should have the courage to repeat the request at another time. . . . The wise sovereign perceived the notes of praiseworthy qualities in that loyalist and advanced him by that great office.' (p. 297. Tr., p. 439.)

Thus the office of mīr 'arz was quite distinct from that of the mīr bakhshī. Neither Muhib 'Alī in the first case nor Mirzā Khān in the second were mīr bakhshīs. Mr. Blochmann has relied upon Mr. Irvine's opinion and he has quoted him in his footnote on p. 259. Mr. Beveridge in his translation (p. 439) has referred to Mr. Blochmann for the same.

However, it may be pointed out that there are very few references to the office of mīr 'arz in *Akbar Nāma*, but in any case it was not the mīr bakhshī who took his place. His office existed long before the creation of the above mentioned post, and the two were quite distinct from each other as far as their duties were concerned.

which the vakīl was specially empowered to entertain.[1]

Thus the connexion of the mīr bakhshī with the provinces was maintained, and this duty further added to his influence in the capital.[2]

The mīr bakhshī on tours with the king

Though the charge of the management of tours and the establishment that accompanied the king was under the mīr sāmān, who was the head of the kārkhānas, the chief bakhshī had his hand in it also. As the head of the military department and the chief connecting link between the king and the mansabdārs, he accompanied the king on tours, pleasure trips and hunting expeditions.[3]

He looked to the arrangement of the camp and allotted places to mansabdārs according to their rank.[4]

Mansabdārs and officers accompanying the king obtained leave to appear in the darbār through him. The list of such officers who were eligible for admission was changed every month.[5]

On tours he acted in his official capacity as he did at the capital, and attended to all the business associated with him. He also looked to the convenience of the troops and their conveyance.[6]

The mīr bakhshī on the battlefield

There were three different positions in which the mīr bakhshī or any of his colleagues could be present on the battlefield.

Firstly, if the Emperor led the army personally,

[1] This portion has been dealt with in Chapter IV.

[2] The chief dīvān was concerned with orders passed on the basis of such reports.

[3] Bernier says that the duties of the office confine 'the possessor to the court, rendering it difficult if not impossible for him to remain at a distance from the king's person' (p. 171).

[4] *Ā'īn*, p. 43. The plans for the encampment of the army were permanently settled under Akbar, and only the place for encampment had to be located.

[5] *Ā'īn*, p. 43. Bloch., p. 47.

[6] Monserrate, pp. 75–82. He has described the arrangements which

as Akbar usually did, or accompanied the army to supervise the arrangements and ensure efficiency and unity among the officers, as Shāh Jahān generally did on all important occasions, the chief bakhshī performed his ordinary duties as on tours.

Secondly, he could be placed in charge of any particular division of the army or given complete command of the expedition. In such cases, he acted like an ordinary military general or the commanding officer.

Thirdly, he could be sent with an army placed directly under the charge of some prince or high amīr. In such a case the mīr bakhshī would be deputed only when the expedition was an important one or his presence was necessitated by any emergency. Shahbāz Khān under Akbar was deputed to Behār in the twenty-fifth year of the reign with Rāja Todar Mal and Mirzā 'Azīz Koka. Khvāja Abdul Hasan was sent to the Deccan under Jahāngīr when Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān, Amīrul-Umarā Sharīf and Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī were engaged there. Salābat Khān under Shāh Jahān was attached to Amīrul-Umarā 'Alī Mardān Khān and later on to Prince Murād at Kābul, in connexion with the Balkh expedition.

In all the above-mentioned positions, the chief bakhshī played an important part in determining the plans of the army. Akbar usually supervised such expeditions himself, or left them entirely to officers like Mun'im Khān in Bengāl and Mirzā Khān (Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān) in Gujrāt, and the bakhshīs had little control or influence in such cases. Jahāngīr left the conduct of the army to the discretion of the commanding officers[1] and there is no record of any

he saw during Akbar's expedition to Kābul. He describes military arrangements, conveyance of war materials, crossing of rivers by bridges, the supply of provisions and several other details.

[1] Except in the expedition against the Rānā which he himself supervised from Ajmere.

definite instructions being issued by him to the armies in the field. This was why his commanders were mostly high amīrs of responsible positions—Khān Khānān, Farzand Khān Jahān, Amīrul-Umarā Shārif the vakīl, Āsaf Khān the vazīr, and later on, Prince Khurram in the Deccan. Khān-i-A'Zam and Prince Khurram worked in Ajmere against the Rānā, and Mahābat Khān was stationed at Kābul to watch the position in Kandhār.

Under Shāh Jahān the military plans were usually settled before the dispatch of the armies, definite instructions were issued to the commanding officers, and they always kept themselves in touch with the king whose personal experience was much greater than that of many of his generals.

Every division of the army had a separate bakhshī, and in most cases the duty of vāqi'a navīs (news-reporter) was also assigned to him, and regular reports were forwarded to the king and the central government. Thus much of the business which a bakhshī would be required to do on such military expeditions was done beforehand in the presence of the king.[1]

The distribution of loans, the advancement of money and the payment of salaries in the field formed the chief duty of the bakhshī of the army on active service.[2]

Lastly the chief bakhshī and his colleagues took

[1] The most conspicuous example of Shāh Jahān's policy in this matter is found in the arrangements made for the expeditions sent to Kandhār and Balkh in the fifteenth and eighteenth years.

[2] Examples to illustrate the various activities of the bakhshīs in connexion with the armies and expeditions:

Tuzuk, p. 50. Rs. 2,00,000 sent through Mohan Dās to 'Abdur Razzāk, one of the bakhshīs, to be distributed to the army at Kābul.

Lāhorī, II, p. 555. Rs. 50,00,000 were sent to Asālat Khān, the mīr bakhshī of Shāh Jahān, at Kābul (twentieth year).

Tuzuk, p. 49. Bakhshīs ordered to arrange for the crossing of the army at Attock in regular batches.

Tuzuk, p. 246. Abul Hasan, the mīr bakhshī, arranged for the con-

part in active service and fought in the field like other officers.[1]

The bakhshīs in the office

The mīr bakhshī and his colleagues, besides the duties described above, had regular office work like other civil officers. The nature of the work performed by them shows the importance of the department in the central government and its control over the entire

struction of a bridge 140 × 4 yards on the river Mahī in three days on the king's return from Ahmadābād to Āgra, and was highly praised for it.

Tuzuk, p. 291. Khvāja Abul Hasan and Sādiq, bakhshīs, placed in charge of the army on the king's return from Kashmīr to arrange its march in two divisions.

A.N., III, p. 573. Thirty-fourth year. Bakhshīs were ordered to arrange for the crossing of the river by the army in groups according to the order of the chaukī (guards).

[1] Under Akbar, Lashkar Khān commanded the army against 'Ali Qulī Khān in the ninth year (*A.N.*, II, Tr., pp. 389–90), and was given authority to accept his submission if offered. In the eighteenth year Khvāje Ghiās-ud-dīn 'Alī Qazvīnī was given the title of Āsaf Khān for his distinguished services in Gujrāt, and the same year Lashkar Khān was deputed against the Rānā Partāb of Udaipūr (*A.N.*, III, p. 64), and after some time was sent to Bengāl to work with Mun'im Khān (p. 73), took part in the battle (p. 104), had charge of the centre of the army in Orissa (p. 123), was wounded in battle and died of wounds (p. 127).

His successor, Shahbāz Khān, took part in the Jodhpur expedition, twenty-first year (p. 167), and worked in Behār and afterwards in Bengāl. Āsaf Khān, another bakhshī, had charge of the advance-guard in the battle of Īdar against the Rānā (p. 174). In the forty-fifth year Shaikh Farīd, the mīr bakhshī, took part against the fort of Asīrgarh (p. 798).

Under Shāh Jahān, Jasvant Rāi and Marhamat Khān, bakhshīs, took part in the battle against 'Abdulla Khān Lodī, and Marhamat was wounded (first year, Lāhorī, p. 278). Mu'tamad Khān was in the field against the same 'Abdulla (p. 411). Sādiq Khān, the mīr bakhshī, worked in the Deccan (p. 423). Asālat Khān, bakhshī, was deputed against Rāja Jagat Singh and he himself commanded one section of the army (fourteenth year, p. 240). Mīr Asghar 'Alī the bakhshī of the army, and Khusrau Beg the bakhshī of 'Asaf Khān's forces, died fighting on the battlefield (tenth year, p. 250 and seventeenth year, p. 275). Asālat Khān, the mīr bakhshī, and Khalīlulla Khān, the second bakhshī, took a very prominent part in the Balkh expedition and were conspicuous by their distinguished services in the field in the nineteenth and the twentieth years of the reign (pp. 491–520), and were rewarded with promotions in their ranks (pp. 554–5).

service of the Empire. The mīr bakhshī issued certificates (dastak) under his seal and signatures for the following purposes:

Issue of certificates

(1) Grants of mansabs, and sanctions of increments to the princes and other royal personages, amīrs of high rank, and other high officials.
(2) Branding of horses.[1]
(3) Assignment of guard duty.
(4) Permission withheld to appear at the guard.
(5) Muster of troops.
(6) Branding and verification of the troops of high amīrs and mansabdārs, required in case of their death or dismissal.[2]
(7) Orders of the postings of mansabdārs.
(8) Postings of the bakhshīs and vāqi'a navīs of the provinces.
(9) Appointments of the dārogha, amīn and the writer of the guard.
(10) Appointments of the dārogha, amīn and mushrif for the branding and verification of troops attached to the king, and the postings of the same to provinces and different armies.

The mīr bakhshī also had the following duties:

Other papers dealt with

(1) Yād dāsht of all orders relating to high amīrs passed through his hands.
(2) The division of the armies into different sections was made in his office.
(3) He prepared the list of high amīrs in attendance on the king.
(4) All appointments made in his presence at the court were certified by him and the yād dāsht revised and sealed in his office.
(5) He dealt directly and received papers from the bakhshīs and vāqi'a navīs of the provinces and the staff of the guards.

The mīr bakhshī kept the following records in his office:

The records kept in his office

(1) List of mansabdārs stationed at the capital and deputed to provinces.

[1] Nos. 2, 5, and 6. Certificate to the effect that the horses have been branded and troops inspected.

[2] This was considered necessary for the settlement of the accounts of salaries on the basis of the troops actually in his service at that particular time.

(2) Account of demands due from mansabdārs.
(3) Abstracts of pay bills.
(4) Dastūr-ul ʿamal (regulations) governing the salaries in cash and jāgīr and the conversion of jāgīrs into cash salaries.
(5) List of the rank of mansabdārs and the salaries drawn by them, and the manner in which they were drawn.
(6) Descriptive rolls (chahra) of mansabdārs and savārs.
(7) Records of branding and verification.
(8) Records of the attendance of mansabdārs in the provinces and different armies.
(9) Records of the attendance of guards at the palace.
(10) Lists of the armies and their arrangement on the day of meeting the enemy.

The joint duties of the mīr bakhshī and the second bakhshī

Reports of orders relating to high amīrs, after the approval of the chief bakhshī, passed through the office of the second bakhshī also. Similarly the second bakhshī received in his office certificates Nos. 9 and 10,[1] papers relating to the rank and salaries of mansabdārs (No. 5) and the records of branding and verification and of the attendance of mansabdārs in provinces, in armies, and at guards (Nos. 7, 8 and 9).

Orders of fresh appointments issued in the presence of the mīr bakhshī reached the office of the second bakhshī after ʿarz-i-mukarrar (revision) and were entered there after the dāgh (branding).

In the absence of the mīr bakhshī, the second bakhshī prepared the list of mansabdārs every day in attendance at the court, but all orders issued at the court in his absence were put before him in his office.[2]

As far as the account of the salaries of the mansabdārs was concerned, the mīr bākhshī kept in his office all the papers which were signed and sealed by him, but the records of leave and absence affecting the salary were kept by the second bakhshī.

The military accountant (sāhib-i-taujīh) kept the

[1] Noted above, p. 226.
[2] Add. 6,599, F. 159; and Or. 1,641, Fs. 17 and 18a.

account of receipts and disbursements, item by item, but the total was made and entered by the officer who prepared the cheque (barāt navīs).[1]

The third bakhshī

The nature of the work performed by the third bakhshī was similar to that performed by the first two bakhshīs. The difference in their position was maintained by the rank of the mansabdārs and other officials with whom they were authorized to deal. The chief bakhshī dealt with the cases of the princes and high amīrs, the second with mansabdārs of lower ranks, and the third did not deal with mansabdārs at all. The appointments, increments and postings of yaumīya dārān[2] alone were dealt with by him.

The number of bakhshīs

No definite number is mentioned in the *Ā'īn*, but the expression bakhshiān used at different places suggests that there were more than one bakhshīs. In the *Akbar Nāma* the distinction in their position is found in the use of the term mīr bakhshī, but it does not settle the number. Throughout the records of Akbar's reign the mīr bakhshī, bakhshī or bakhshiān, are the terms used, and an inference can be drawn from them that there was one chief bakhshī and one more bakhshī besides him, and that he was not called the second bakhshī as he came to be called in subsequent reigns.

The bakhshī of the Ahadīs was separate and he held a post which was distinct from the above-mentioned two offices.

Under Jahāngīr the appointments in the first year of his reign show that he had three bakhshīs besides the one for the Ahadīs. Later on an appointment was made under the title of the bakhshī-i-huzūr (i.e. the bakhshī in attendance) and the post was treated as distinct from the other three bakhshīs.

[1] Add. 6,599, F. 38.

[2] Lit. daily allowance holders, technically the officers and other persons drawing cash salaries or allowances without any rank; Sa'dulla Khān, the chief dīvān, also started in the same grade.

Abdur Razzāq Ma'mūrī, who was given the post, was instructed to work in consultation with Khvāja Abul Hasan, the bakhshī. By a mere chance it has been possible to collect the names of all the bakhshīs of Jahāngīr holding different posts at the same time. Thus, when fresh appointments were over, the arrangement of the post of the bakhshīs stood as follows:

(1) Shaikh Farīd ...	... Mīr bakhshī.
(2) Khvāja Fatahulla (3) Khvāja Abul Hasan	... Bakhshīs.
(4) Abdur Razzāq Ma'mūrī	Bakhshī-i-huzūr (to act with Khvāja Abul Hasan).
(5) Bihārī Dās	... Bakhshī of the Ahadīs.
(6) Zamāna Beg[1] ... (later on given the title of Mahābat Khān)	... Bakhshī-i-shāgird pesha (Domestic servants)

The post of the bakhshī-i-huzūr appears to have continued under Jahāngīr, and one more appointment is mentioned in the ninth year of the reign; though the title is different, yet the office is the same. 'Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed to the high post of the bakhshī garī-i-dar-i-khāna jointly with Khvāja Abul Hasan.'[2] The rank of the post was the same as that of other assistant bakhshīs. In this case, Ibrāhīm Khān was given the rank of 1,500 zāt and 600 savār.

Similarly the post of the bakhshī-i-shāgird pesha continued, and Zamāna Beg was given the rank of 1,500 zāt.

Later on there is no mention of the bakhshī-i-huzūr as a distinct officer, and I am inclined to think that it ceases to be a separate office and the post was amalgamated with that of the third bakhshī. The office of the bakhshī of the Ahadīs was an old one and

[1] *Tuzuk*, second year. Nos. 1 and 2 (p. 6); Nos. 3 and 4 (p. 39); No. 5 (p. 49); No. 6 (p. 10).

[2] *Tuzuk*, p. 127.

it continued under subsequent reigns. The bakhshī of the shāgird pesha is found under Shāh Jahān as well.[1]

Thus by the reign of Shāh Jahān the number of the bakhshīs was fixed at three. They were attached to the central office and worked together. The other two bakhshīs noted above were distinct from them and as they dealt with a particular class of servants only, they cannot be regarded as members of the central department.[2]

Under Akbar and Jahāngīr the designation was not settled. The chief bakhshī was called the mīr and the other two only bakhshīs. The proper designation as first, second and third bakhshīs is found under Shāh Jahān. The other two retained their distinct titles.[3]

List of the Prominent Mīr Bakhshīs

Akbar	Lashkar Khān ...	No definite period of service of each as mīr bakhshī can be determined.		
	Shahbāz Khān, Kamboh			
	Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī			
	Shaikh Farīd ...			
Jahāngīr	Shaikh Farīd (continued) ...	1st year to	2nd year	= 1 year
	Vazīrul Mulk	2nd „	7th „	= 5 years
	Khvāja Abul Hasan ...	8th „	16th „	= 8 „
	Sādiq Khān	16th „	18th „	= 2 „
	Irādat Khān	19th „	22nd „	} = 3 „
Shāh Jahān	Irādat Khān (continued for a short time)			
	Sādiq Khān (second time till death)	1st year to	6th year	= 5 „
	Islām Khān	6th „	8th „	= 2 „

[1] Lāhorī, p. 91. Hājī 'Āshor appointed in the eleventh year.

[2] Abul Fazl has included all the bakhshīs in his list in the *Ā'īn*, p. 232, which also shows that there was no such distinction in that reign.

[3] 'Mu'tamad Khān the *second* bakhshī by the right of seniority in service was appointed the mīr bakhshī.' (Lāhorī, tenth year, p. 279.)

It may be pointed out that there was no bakhshī-i-tan in these reigns as suggested by Mr. Irvine (*The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 39), and the above explanation clears the point which appeared vague and indefinite to Mr. Irvine. He was unable to fix the exact number and to find any distinction between the different titles (p. 40).

Mīr Jumla ...	... 8th	year to	10th	year	= 2	years
Mu'tamad Khān ...	... 10th	„	13th	„	= 3	„
Salābat Khān ...	... 13th	„	17th	„	= 4	„
Asālat Khān ...	... 17th	„	20th	„	= 3	„
Ja'far Khān ...	... 20th	„	23rd	„	= 3	„
Khalīlulla Khān ...	... 23rd					

Some features of the office

The mīr bakhshī was thus an equal sharer in power, status, and influence with the chief dīvān. The powers held by the vazīrs of other Muslim monarchies were divided between them. They were a check upon each other, but the administrative routine was arranged in such a manner that neither could dominate the other.

The mīr bakhshī was the head of the military department, and as such, the chief representative of the mansabdārs, but this position did not give him any influence with the army. He was not the commander-in-chief of the forces of the Empire nor was he entitled to lead an expedition by virtue of his office. It was entirely at the discretion of the king to make suitable arrangements according to the nature of the expedition, the composition of the army, and the generals selected. In most cases separate bakhshīs (called bakhshī-i-'askar or lashkar) were appointed for the expedition, and they were neither selected by the chief bakhshī nor necessarily taken from his department. They only worked under his supervision.

His control over the army on the field of battle was further curtailed by the presence either of the king or of amīrs of high positions, on important expeditions, and in all cases by the king's direct contact with all the generals and commanders, and by his vigilance and direction of all affairs and movements.

The mīr bakhshī is generally regarded as the paymaster of the army, but it was not a part of his regular and permanent duties. He was concerned

with the financial matters only when the army was on active service. The dīvān and his representatives did not move with it and they only acted through him. Thus it was only on the battlefield that the sanctioned amounts were placed under his charge, and he distributed the cash salaries, and advanced necessary loans to the army; but when the army returned from active service, the mīr bakhshī submitted the account to the dīvān's office and ceased to be the paymaster.

Another feature of the office was that the nature of the work attached to it made its holder essentially a military man. Military qualifications and a military career became the chief basis for appointment to the post, but the nature of the office-work, together with an equally important duty in the darbār, naturally led him to possess literary qualifications also and to be a cultured man. Thus the combination of two different types of work necessarily prevented him from becoming purely of a military type, and the list of the office-holders of the period shows that most of them did combine both qualities, and particular regard was paid to this point in their selection. Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī and Shaikh Farīd under Akbar were regarded as men of the pen as well as of the sword. Jahāngīr himself said to Farīd while confirming him in his post, after his accession, 'tura sahib-ul saif val qalam mī dānam'.[1] Khvāja Abul Hasan, though generally not liked for his bad temper, was decidedly a man of learning, and succeeded I'timād-ud-Daula as the dīvān of the Empire. Irādat Khān, Islām Khān, and Mīr Jumla became chief dīvāns under Shāh Jahān. Mu'tamad Khān and Asālat Khān were noted for their scholarship and refined manners.

It will be interesting to note that of Akbar's chief

'I consider thee a man of the pen as well as of the sword.'

bakhshīs, Lashkar Khān and Shahbāz Khān were purely military men, and both of them, though noted for efficiency and loyalty, were punished for rude behaviour on more than one occasion. Besides them, there was only Sādiq Khān who was removed from office by Jahāngīr on suspicion of disloyalty, while the rest enjoyed the perfect confidence of their respective monarchs. None was removed for any fault; they were either transferred as governors of provinces or made dīvāns, or continued in office till their deaths.

CHAPTER VII

THE MĪR SĀMĀN

OUTLINE

Mr. Barthold's division of the organs of administration under Eastern Muslim monarchies into dargāh (palace) and dīvān (chancery) not applicable to the system of the Mughals. The mīr sāmān in charge of the kārkhānas (factories) and stores maintained by the state. The head of a regular department of the central government.

The nature of the department. A similar arrangement found under Fīrūz Tughluq—difference between the two.

The two terms Mīr Sāmān and Khān Sāmān used for the office. The former retained in the thesis.

The officers of the department and their duties.

The internal working of the department.

The position of the mīr sāmān and the dīvān of the department. The king and the kārkhānas. The king's contact with the department in three different ways:

1. Sanction of financial grant and schemes presented twice every year.
2. All important matters and estimates of big orders referred to the king in the darbār by the officers of the department.
3. Manufactured articles exhibited before the king by the department and the artisan concerned presented.

The effect of the system: Direct contact with the artisans, individual recognition of merit, reward and encouragement. Examples of personal attention of the king to different branches.

Shāh Jahān sending manufactured goods instead of cash to Hejāz for the amount sanctioned for charity.

List of the prominent mīr sāmāns of Shāh Jahān and their rank.

MR. BARTHOLD'S statement that 'throughout the whole system of the Eastern Muslim political organization there runs like a red thread the division of all the organs of administration with two main categories, the dargāh (palace) and dīvān (chancery)',[1] applies to India only as far as the Delhī sultanate is concerned. In it, we find the mīr hājib, the vakīl-i-dar and the bār bak, the officers of the court and the palace, occupying equal status with the dīvān-i-vizārat and the dīvān-i-'arz. But the Mughals departed in their organization not only from the Delhī sultāns but also from the Sāmānid and 'Abbāsid governments as well. Their entire administrative machinery was divided into central and provincial. The central part of the administration covered both the dargāh and the dīvān, but no division of functions was made on that basis. The mīr sāmān was the minister in charge of a department of the central government like the dīvān and the mīr bakhshī.

The kārkhānas or the buyūtāt, as the department was called, included factories and stores maintained by the central government for purposes of state. The department can neither be placed under the category of the dargāh nor of the household. It dealt with every article, from pearls, precious stones, swords and scimitars, to guns and heavy artillery. It maintained horses and elephants for the army, beasts of burden for baggage, and other animals for the royal hunt. The head of the department dealt directly with the king like other ministers. He dealt with the dīvān for amounts sanctioned by the

[1] *Turkestān*, p. 227.

king, and submitted to him his accounts for audit. He also came in contact with the mīr bakhshī in the equipment of armies, and the arrangements of royal tours and hunts. The one looked to the arrangement of the army, the other to the regular supply of its needs. The one arranged the tours and hunts, while the other looked after the baggage and the necessary provisions. Thus both accompanied the king.

The department not only purchased and stored all kinds of articles, but it was the greatest manufacturing agency in the country for weapons of war and articles of luxury. Though owned and managed by the state, the department was run strictly on business lines.

Under the Delhī sultanate, Fīrūz Shāh alone had devoted his energies towards the state kārkhānas, and he had a large establishment and a separate department for them, but it is not clear from the account given by 'Afīf whether the department only stored articles or manufactured them as well. All references suggest that it only kept stores and its importance consisted in its large stocks and regular supplies of fresh and up-to-date articles of all kinds.[1]

[1] 'Afīf: (1) 'The sultān often used to say that in a kingdom there are two valuables, one includes fief-lands, parganas, and domains, and the other kārkhānas. As millions of money come from fiefs so goods worth millions are stored in the kārkhānas. Accordingly the possessions of my one kārkhāna are in no way less than the proceeds of the city of Multān.' (p. 339.)

(2) 'The sultān had thirty-six kārkhānas. He always made strenuous efforts to store goods in them, and every kārkhāna was full of goods of variety and quality.' (p. 356.)

(3) 'Different kārkhānas were under different amīrs but the entire charge was under Khvāja Abul Hasan, who received royal orders and communicated them to the amīr concerned who carried them out immediately.' (p. 338.)

(4) 'Whenever fine goods of quality were available they were purchased for kārkhānas and payments were made on the very day of the purchase.' (p. 99.)

Mīr Sāmān or Khān Sāmān

There appears to be some confusion in the use of the term mīr sāmān for this office. Under Akbar this term is not used at all. Mr. Blochmann has pointed out one example of its use in a biographical note on Khvāja Jalālud-dīn Mahmūd of Khorāsān, but there it is used as a title conferred upon him by Humāyūn 'which under the circumstances was an empty distinction'. In the *Ā'īn* his duties are not mentioned nor his powers defined.[1] In the *Akbar Nāma* also there are fewer references to him than to other officers of his rank.

Under Jahāngīr the term mīr sāmān is maintained throughout the period of his reign, and there is only one instance in which the term khān sāmān is used in its stead, in the fifteenth year in the *Tuzuk*, in connexion with Mīr Jumla's appointment to the post of Khidmat-i-Khān Sāmānī,[2] but when he was replaced by Afzal Khān in the twenty-first year, the term mīr sāmān was used.[3]

Under Shāh Jahān, whether in appointments, in darbār or on tours, wherever the officer is mentioned the term mīr sāmān is used by all contemporary writers.

But so far as the *Dastūr-ul 'Amals* (Extracts of Regulations) are concerned, which were mostly drafted or copied in the reign of 'Ālamgīr, the term khān sāmān predominates. Mīr sāmān appears only in one manuscript of the *Dastūr*[4] which was written in the early part of his reign, while in other works, including the *Tārikh-i-Shākir Khānī*[5] written in the reign of Muhammad Shāh, the term khān sāmān is retained.

Thus I conclude that under Akbar this officer did

[1] *Ā'īn*, p. 4. The mīr sāmān together with the dīvān-i-buyūtāt is placed under the dīvān of the Empire, and the term mīr sāmān is used for the office instead of khān sāmān.

[2] *Tuzuk*, p. 314. [3] *Tuzuk*, p. 412. [4] MS. Add. 6,599, F. 58.

[5] MS. Add. 6,585.

not hold the rank and position which he did under his two successors, and the entire work associated with his office had not devolved upon him in that reign. In connexion with the kārkhānas, the dīvān-i-buyūtāt is more conspicuous under Akbar, and it was later developments which placed him in charge of the whole department and settled his position in the administrative machinery; and in this capacity he eame to be known as mīr sāmān. In accounts of Jahāngīr's reign frequent mention is made of his duties, and everywhere he is referred to as mīr sāmān and not khān sāmān.

Under Aurangzebe, he again becomes khān sāmān in the official regulations.

For my purposes I have retained the term mīr sāmān which is used by contemporary writers of the greater part of the period covered by this book.

The officers of the department

The department consisted of the mīr sāmān as the chief executive officer responsible for the successful working and the general supervision of the department. Other officers were:

Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt—

Another officer of high rank, chiefly responsible for the financial side of the department.

Mushrif-i-Kul o Juz—(Literally accountant of the part and the whole)

Head accountant of the department. He had a mushrif in each branch of the department.

Dārogha—

Each branch or kārkhāna had a dārogha, who dealt directly with the artisans of his branch, distributed to them their daily work and took charge of the material left in their possession every day.

Tahvīldār—

Like the dārogha, each kārkhāna had a tahvīldār, who had charge of cash and material required for his branch.

MUSTAUFĪ—(Auditor)

He audited the accounts of the kārkhānas, verified the expenditure with vouchers, prepared a statement, signed it himself, put it before the dīvān of the department, and finally had the seal of the mīr sāmān put to it.

DĀROGHA-I-KACHEHRĪ—

He was in charge of the general supervision of the establishment of the office. It was his duty to see that all papers and registers were taken from one officer to another properly. He was also to see that no one behaved rudely towards the clerks and the servants of the office. He locked the doors of the office with the seal of the officer concerned and put his own seal on each.

NĀZIR—

He came in rank next to the dīvān of the department. The post was created in the thirty-fifth year of Akbar's reign, and a very efficient man, Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī, was appointed to it. He had served as a nāib sadr in the early part of the reign, and besides various other duties, he had also acted for some time as a joint dīvān. The reason for the creation of the post is given by Abul Fazl in the following words, 'Though Sādiq Khān was a skilful mīr sāmān and Khvāja Ghiās-ud-din Beg was the dīvān, yet, as in every department there was much income and expenditure, the more help there was the better for the work'.[1] Thus he was intended to be an assistant and a help to the dīvān.[2] According to *Dastūr*, the nāzir should go through whatever work is done by the dīvān of the department and put his seal on it. In this capacity he becomes a revising officer to guarantee greater efficiency and accuracy. As far as the actual working of the department was concerned, he was connected more with the financial side than with the executive. He was decidedly below the dīvān in rank and status and nowhere does he appear as his equal.

It is interesting to note that under both Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān there are several references to the dāroghas and the tahvīldārs, who had the opportunity to appear before the king and place before him the articles of their kārkhānas, whenever so required, but the nāzir of the department who was concerned with the official routine is nowhere mentioned. He was neither prominent by the nature of his duties like the dārogha and the

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 597. Tr., p. 877.
[2] MS. Add. 6,599, F. 37b.

tahvīldār, nor conspicuous by his position like the mīr sāmān and the dīvān.[1]

The internal working

The respective duties of each of the officers can briefly be summarized thus: The mīr sāmān as the head of the department dealt with its executive side, and exercised general supervision over the internal working of each branch. He had the power to take the initiative with regard to the appointment or dismissal of the dāroghas, mushrifs and tahvīldārs, and the right to take disciplinary action against any of his subordinates whenever necessary. He dealt with all the affairs of the department and attended to the orders received in the kārkhānas from the provinces. Important matters or big transactions were brought by him to the notice of the king, while he dealt himself with the rest.

The dīvān looked to the financial side, and in this capacity he dealt with the nāzir, the mustaufī, and the mushrif. In all other matters also, he attended to the needs of the kārkhānas but first brought them to the notice of the mīr sāmān, and according to the rules, acted in consultation with him. As in financial matters the mīr sāmān simply put his seal on the papers which reached him through the dīvān and the mustaufī, and did not go into the details, so in all other matters the dīvān relied upon the decisions of the mīr sāmān. The dual character, a sense of joint responsibility, and the balancing of powers, so conspicuous in every branch of the Mughal system, was maintained here. Though the powers of both the chief officers of the department were clearly defined, no strong barriers were raised, and the intermingling of the two sides of the administration was maintained to the advantage of the department.

The nāzir had no distinct powers and duties and

[1] See examples below under the section dealing with the King and the Kārkhānas (p. 244).

he worked in co-ordination with the dīvān. His presence simply facilitated the work of revision and the checking of accounts before their submission to the central auditing department.

The mustaufī demanded the necessary papers, particularly the daily entry book and the abstract of daily cash receipts and disbursements from the tahvīldār and mushrifs of each branch, verified the accounts item by item and got them signed by the dīvān. If there was anything of which the dīvān needed an explanation, he noted it with his own pen.

After the sanction of accounts, he prepared sheets for the demand of money, and taking the signatures of the dīvān handed them over to the dārogha of the kachehrī so that the amount might be realized.

It was the duty of the dīvān to see that no hardship accrued to anyone of his department in this connexion. He was responsible for all such transactions and accounts which passed through him.[1]

The mustaufī also prepared a statement about the income and expenditure of the department under each tahvīldār and a report on the general condition of the affairs and accounts of each kārkhāna.[2]

The duties of the tahvīldār and the dārogha can only be gathered from the forms given in *Dastūrs* for recording the daily work done in each branch and payments made for the same.

The tahvīldār kept the necessary amount of money for meeting the requirements of his branch. He also kept in stock the material needed for the work done in that particular branch. The dārogha took money or materials from him and distributed them to the

[1] MS. Add. 6,599, F.58. MS. Add. 6,526, F.33a.

[2] MS. Add. 6,598, Fs. 53b, 54 and 56–104. These contain the specimen papers of accounts and the method of recording the details of every kārkhāna as required by the regulations. The above procedure is framed after a detailed study of these papers together with their comparison with scattered historical facts connected with these officers' duties.

artisans under him. Entries were made of such transactions every day, and at the close of the day, the dārogha noted the work done by every artisan. If the work in hand was, for example, a piece of jewellery or a piece of cloth, the dārogha would note the piece finished at the close of the day, and return it to the tahvīldār together with the remaining material. Thus, as the work proceeded day by day the material supplied and the quantity used were entered by the dārogha and the tahvīldār; and when a particular piece was finished, the price of the material, together with the wages of the artisan for the number of days taken by him to complete it fixed the cost price of the piece, and a final report was prepared that such and such an article was prepared at that cost by such and such an artisan under the supervision of such and such a dārogha.

The same process was followed in every branch, whether it were the kitchen where provisions in grains were supplied, or the buildings department which noted the number of bricks, the size of stones and the quantity of other material used in an area of some particular dimensions, every day.

Thus the tahvīldār and the dārogha dealt directly with the artisans. The one kept the cash and stored the necessary stock of material used, while the other distributed it to the artisan and supervised his work. The mushrif of the same branch wrote the account day by day, in the form of daily entries of cash advanced, material supplied and work done. The accounts were submitted to the mustaufī, and the tahvīldār, the dārogha and the mushrif were jointly responsible.

The dārogha of the kachehrī formed a connecting link between these and the other higher officers, and was responsible for the dispatch of all necessary papers to their respective destinations at each stage.

The artisans were paid monthly cash salaries or daily wages according to the nature of the work. Skilled labour was mostly paid in regular salaries, and great favour was shown to good hands. They were all known personally to the king and were presented before him or summoned by him whenever they exhibited unusual skill or workmanship in their profession.

The position of the mīr sāmān and the dīvān-i-buyūtāt

The mīr sāmān and the dīvān-i-buyūtāt were jointly responsible for the management of the kārkhānas and the working of the department, but in spite of the joint responsibility, the inner working and the details of procedure followed, reveal that the mīr sāmān had a somewhat higher position than the dīvān of the department, but the dīvān cannot be considered his subordinate.

In the darbār both of them had a right to appear and put matters connected with their duties before the king, but the mīr sāmān had precedence and he had also a right to bring to His Majesty's notice whatever he thought necessary for his department, while it appears that the dīvān's right was limited to placing the necessary papers before the king.[1]

Similarly, the mīr sāmān occupied a higher status in putting his seal upon the farmāns. He put his seal on the second fold together with the dīvān (vazīr) and the chief bakhshī, while the seal of the dīvān-i-buyūtāt was placed on the third fold.[2]

The division of functions and the work of the department also revealed the same difference of status. All important papers were required to be countersigned by the mīr sāmān. He was solely responsible for dealing with state cases connected with property under the control of the department.

[1] Lāhorī, I, p. 245. [2] Bloch., p. 263.

In cases of attachment of property, the dīvān acted in co-operation with him.[1]

As far as their status in accordance with their rank is concerned, there is very scanty material under Akbar, but both under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān the mīr sāmān decidedly occupied a higher status and enjoyed a much higher rank than the dīvān of their department.

But it is interesting to note that in spite of this difference in their official ranks, both of them reached the vizārat (chief ministership) direct, and the dīvān was under no disadvantage as compared with the mīr sāmān.

The King and the Kārkhānas

In accordance with the *Dastūr* (Regulations), the king came in contact with this branch of the central government in three different ways, which, taken together, covered its every aspect.

(1) Financial grants and schemes

The department submitted its financial statement and needs twice every year to the government. These were ultimately placed before the king and sanction was issued in the form of a farmān on which the royal seal was placed.[2]

Such farmāns which were issued for financial grants only were called barats as distinguished from other farmāns of a general nature.

These statements included all financial transac-

[1] The mīr sāmān and his department had charge of all state property at the capital. He looked to the management of all gardens, and shops and houses given on rent and nuzūl (nominal royalty). Similarly he took charge of all property confiscated by royal order. The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Shākir Khānī* has recorded his own case in which the property of his family was confiscated on the death of his father, and later on restored to him. It was the mīr sāmān who executed the order in both cases. (F. 100a and b.)

In the same capacity he executed orders of gifts and rewards of houses.

[2] *Ā'in*, p. 195.

tions of the department—sales, purchases, stocks stored and expenditure incurred on regular establishment, temporary hands, and workmen with daily wages. They gave the balances with each tahvīldār, together with the demands of each branch of the department, as submitted by it through the dīvān of the buyūtāt.[1]

[1] MS. Or. 164, Fs. 20 and 21b, clauses 1, 5 and 6. Procedure in preparing such statements: The accountant of each workshop or stable writes out annually two barāts, one for the six months from Farvardīn to Shahrīvar (February to July) and the other from Mihr to Isfāndārmuz (August to January). [*Ā'īn*. Bloch., p. 262. The English months entered in it are wrong. They do not agree with the Persian months of the text.] He writes down the allowances on account of grain, grass, etc., both in cash and stores, and the salaries of the staff, and signs the statement. The dīvān-i-buyūtāt inspects them, approves the cash statement after inquiring into the increase and decrease, if any, and writes on the margin 'az tahvīl-i-falān-i. barāt navīsand'. 'Let a barāt be made showing the amount to be deposited with such and such.' [*Ā'īn*. Bloch., p. 262. The word 'mushrif' added in the translation is incorrect as the amount was not deposited with the mushrif but with the tahvīldār and the word 'falān-i' refers to such and such tahvīldār and not to the mushrif, who was concerned with accounts only. *Ā'īn*, pp. 194–5. Bloch., p. 262. At certain places I have not been able to agree with the translation. Besides certain changes, necessary explanations have also been added.] The mushrif of the kārkhānas carries out the order, writes out a receipt (or voucher) also and signs and seals it. In a cheque for cash payments, one-fourth of the amount is deducted and a separate sanad is given for it. The dīvān-i-buyūtāt then gives the order to have it entered (in the office registers). After this, the barāt and the receipt are sealed and signed by the mushrif of the department. (The barāt thus prepared by the kārkhāna concerned and approved by the dīvān-i-buyūtāt passes out of the department.) It reaches the military accountant (because some of the employees of the department hold mansabs and draw their salaries on that list), mustaufī, nāzir, dīvān-i-buyūtāt (again to him lest there should be some need for alteration after being checked by the mustaufī), dīvān-i-kul, khān sāmān (or mīr sāmān), mushrif of the dīvān (a'lā) and the vakīl and is signed and sealed by each of them. In every case the estimate is sent along with it—so that there may be no mistake. When it has been laid before His Majesty, the mushrif writes out the receipt which, in the same manner, is entered into the several daftars. The mode of payment is also detailed on the back of it, i.e. one-fourth is to be paid in

(2) Important matters referred

The king's duty did not end with the sanction of grants and the inspection of the financial statement every sixth month, but it formed a part of his daily routine. The mīr sāmān and the dīvān appeared in the darbār every day, like other heads of departments, and represented important cases connected with their duties.[1] It was on such occasions that the king placed his own orders with the kārkhānas, looked into the orders of other departments, learnt of all big orders placed by others, and approved the prices fixed by the department.[2]

Prices of articles and animals fixed and reported to the king:

Tuzuk, Second Year, p. 66.—

An elephant from Ratan, son of Bhoj Hāda, was valued at Rs. 15,000 and named Ratan Gaj.

Tuzuk, Tenth Year.—

An elephant from Rāja Sūraj Singh valued at Rs. 20,000 named Fauj Singhār.

Tuzuk, Fifteenth Year, p. 326.—

Thirty-eight elephants received in the year valued at Rs. 2,41,000.

gold (asharfīs), one-half in silver (rupīs), one part in copper (dāms) according to the fixed value of coins. A statement of accounts of the transaction is appended at the bottom of each barāt. (All transactions of the department, deposits, and payments of salaries of the establishment of every kind of workshops or stables, are made by barāts.)

[1] The regulation definitely provided for referring important cases to the king. (MS. Add. 6,598, F. 33, clause 1.)

[2] The fixing of prices formed an important function of the mīr sāmān. Expert advice was necessary, and it was sought and sometimes arranged by the king himself, yet he was officially responsible for it. (MS. Or. 1,641, F. 20b). The importance of this duty can be seen from the prices entered in the *Ā'īn* for such articles (p. 101).

Ā'īn, p. 101. For cloth industry, tailoring department and king's wardrobe.

Ā'īn, pp. 103–11. For woollen shawls of all prices manufactured by the state.

Ā'īn, pp. 119–24. For weapons of all prices manufactured by the state.

Ā'īn, pp. 160–70. For building materials.

Tuzuk, Third Year, p. 70.—

A ruby piece from Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī, the vakīl, was valued at Rs. 75,000. Jahāngīr differed and valued it at Rs. 60,000.

Tuzuk, Thirteenth Year, p. 244.—

A piece of diamond from the mine of Kokra (Behār) cut by the diamond cutters of the state was valued at Rs. 3,000 and the experts said that if it had been a little whiter it would have fetched Rs. 20,000.

Tuzuk, Eleventh Year, p. 155.—

A dagger from Khān Jahān valued at Rs. 50,000.

Tuzuk, Twelfth Year, p. 193.—

A diamond piece brought by a firangī for sale. He demanded Rs. 2,00,000 for it. The expert jewellers at court valued it at Rs. 80,000. Hence no sale was effected. Mahābat Khān purchased it for Rs. 1,00,000 at Burhānpūr, and presented it to the king.

Lāhorī, Nineteenth Year, p. 607.—

Six horses purchased by Shāh Jahān valued at Rs. 25,000, one of them at Rs. 15,000.

Lāhorī, Nineteenth Year, p. 480.—

A diamond piece from Shāista Khān weighing 116 rattīs valued at Rs. 1,00,000, polished in the workshop, after which it weighed 100 rattīs.

(3) Manufactured articles exhibited

The king's interference and vigilance reached still further, when the regulation required the valuable articles manufactured in the government workshops of the capital or provinces or purchased from outside to be exhibited in the darbār before the king. Weapons of war, articles of luxury or any useful thing which, either for its importance or workmanship, could interest the king, was produced before him. This procedure not only brought the skill and the workmanship of the country to the notice of the monarch, but the artisan also, who was produced before him. Thus the credit did not wholly go to the department and its high officers for every achievement but to the artisans as well, who were at times lavishly rewarded for original designs, superior skill and unusual workmanship.

This completed the control and the supervision of the king over the department from its finances down to its inner working and output.

Personal attention of the king

The most conspicuous case under Jahāngīr besides numerous other cases of a variety of articles appreciated and artisans rewarded, is that of a dagger, the hilt of which was made of dandān-i-māhī (fish's teeth) with black spots (ablaq). One of this quality was sent by Shāh 'Abbās to Jahāngīr for which he took a fancy, and a search was made for fish's teeth of the same quality and shade throughout the country, and Jahāngīr says: 'I appointed several skilful men to go to Īrān and Tūrān to look for them and to bring some from anywhere and any person, anyhow, and at any price.' By chance one piece of great beauty and delicacy was found and purchased for a trifle in the city of Āgra, and was entrusted to the artisan of the state kārkhānas for making hilts. Jahāngīr has recorded his opinions about his artisans, their workmanship, and the reward he gave to them on this occasion. 'I ordered the ustāds (masters or experts) Pūran and Kalyān, who had no rivals in the art of engraving (khātim bandī) to make dagger hilts of a shape that was approved at this time and has become known as the Jahāngīrī fashion. At the same time the blade and the sheath and fastenings were given to skilful men, each of whom was unique in his age in his art (yaktāyān-i-roz gār). Truly, it was well carried out according to my wish. One hilt came out coloured in such a way as to create astonishment. It turned out of all the seven colours, and some of the flowers looked as if a skilful painter had depicted them in black lines round it with a wonder-working pencil. In short, it was so delicate that I never wish it to be apart from me for a moment. Of all the gems of great price that are in the treasury, I consider it the most precious . . . ; the masters, who . . . had exercised great skill and

taken great pains were rewarded. Ustād Pūran with the gift of an elephant, a dress of honour, and a golden bracelet (kara) for the wrist, and Kalyān with the title of 'Ajāib Dast (wondrous hand) and an increased mansab, a dress of honour, and a jewelled bracelet (pahaunchī), and in the same way, every one according to his circumstances and skill received favours.'[1]

As Jahāngīr had a mania for precious stones, which has been noted by every European traveller to his court, so he had a taste for painting. The skill he had acquired in judging his artists' works is thus recorded in his own words. 'Abul Hasan the painter who has been honoured with the title of Nādir-uz-Zamān drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece to the *Jahāngīr Nāma* and brought it to me. As it is worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect and his picture is one of the chefs d'oeuvre of the age.

'. . . If at this day the masters 'Abdul Hayy and Bihzād were alive they would have done him justice. . . . From his earliest years up to the present time I have always looked after him till his art has arrived at this rank. Truly he has become Nādir-uz-Zamān (the wonder of the age) . . . As regards myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can per-

[1] *Tuzuk*, fourteenth year, p. 276. Rogers, II, pp. 98–9.

ceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrows.'[1]

In the end it may be pointed out that there is abundant material scattered in the chronicles of the period to trace the gradual development of every industry under these three monarchs. The attention which Akbar paid to his kār-khānas, and to recruiting artisans from different countries, and in training local men in every art, is recorded in the *Ā'īn* under each industry and is noticed by Father Monserrate also.[2] For example, Abul Fazl says about the shawl industry: 'Formerly shawls were brought sometimes from Kashmīr. Now high and low all wear them. Kashmīr industry developed and received a new life. In Lāhore alone more than one thousand kārkhānas exist.' (Prices varied from 150 gold mohars (Rs. 1,050) to Rs. 6 per piece.)

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 235. Rogers, II, pp. 20–1.

Rogers, pp. 116–7. Bishan Dās, painter, was sent to Persia with the royal ambassador, Khān 'Ā'lam, to take the portraits of the Shāh and the chief men of the state. His work is mentioned on p. 117, and his portraits of the Shāh were much appreciated; Bishan Dās is termed unequalled in his age for making a likeness. He was given an elephant as a reward.

Roe, pp. 196–201. Mentions Jahāngīr's taste for paintings and portraits and the case of six copies of the portrait presented by Roe shown to him the same evening. They had been done by court painters, and he found it difficult to recognize the one which belonged to him.

Hawkins, pp. 111–2. Mentions Jahāngīr's mania for precious stones.

[2] Monserrate, p. 36, speaks of a large number of artisans, iron workers and goldsmiths and (p. 201), of Akbar's interest in kārkhānas, personally visiting and sometimes himself working there.

Monserrate, p. 207. Akbar trading.

Monserrate, pp. 195–260. Lāhore second to none in India and Europe in art and craft.

Pelsaert, pp. 19 and 26–8, describes the demand for varieties under Jahāngīr and speaks of carpets with silk and gold thread—no scope left for Chinese silk.

Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān continued the patronage. The chronicler of the latter reign says: 'The carpet industry of Kashmīr and Lāhore has developed to such an extent that woollen carpets are now prepared there at a cost of Rs. 100 per yard, and the woollen carpets prepared in the kārkhānas of the ruler of Īrān are like a sackcloth before them. Now all the halls of the royal buildings are furnished with these woollen carpets.'[1]

Shāh Jahān's attention to, and patronage of, home industry is incidentally revealed in a case of charities of his reign. Once, before his accession to the throne, and again during the illness of his favourite daughter Begam Sāhib, he had taken a vow to send Rs. 5,00,000 to Mecca. When he succeeded to the throne, and similarly when his daughter recovered, he fulfilled the vow, but unlike Akbar and Jahāngīr, he did not send the amount in cash but ordered that goods to the value of the said amount should be purchased at Ahmadābād and then sold in Hejāz and the amount received, together with the profit, should be distributed there in charity in accordance with the instructions given for the purpose.[2]

Thus the system of maintaining the kārkhānas by the central government not only fulfilled all the needs of the state at a low price, but gave an encouragement and impetus to different industries of the country, and the improved works executed and articles manufactured in state factories must have served as models and furnished better designs to local artisans.

[1] Lāhorī, I, p. 448. Sālih (p. 515) says Rs. 90 a yard.

[2] The amount on both occasions was sent in several instalments, but orders for purchasing the goods in Ahmadābād and Sūrat were given on every occasion; (1) Fourth year, Lāhorī, p. 407; (2) Tenth year, II, p. 281, (3) Sixteenth year, II, p. 310, (4) Eighteenth year, Sālih, p. 406. (5) Twenty-first year, p. 331; (6) Twenty-fourth year, p. 443.

The last two references show that, on all previous occasions, a profit of 50 per cent had accrued from the sale of these goods.

The following list of the mīr sāmāns of Shāh Jahān's reign shows the importance which the office had by that time acquired.

Name	Rank	
'Allāmī Afzal Khān	4,000 Zāt	2,000 Horse
Mīr Jumla	4,000 „	2,500 „
'Āqil Khān	2,000 „	500 „
Sa'dulla Khān	3,000 „	500 „
'Āqil Khān (second time)	2,500 „	800 „
Mulla 'Ala-ul-Mulk (Later on Fāzil Khān)	1,500 „	500 „
reached the rank of	3,000 „	800 „

CHAPTER VIII

THE SADR

OUTLINE

Introductory.—The position of the sadr in an Islāmic state: Al-Māvardī, Ibn-i-Khaldūn, Nizām-ul-Mulk (*Siyāsat Nāma*), MSS. *Ādāb-i-Saltanat, Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk, Sulūk-ul-Mulūk.*

Sadr indispensable for the state and the king. Representative of the ulamā; the highest authority on Islāmic law. The duties of the sadr.

Sadrs in the early reign of Akbar occupied a distinguished position; change in Akbar's policy and attitude due to the irregularities of sadrs; vigilance over them and curtailment of their powers.

Regulations.—Persons eligible for land and stipends from the department. Necessary qualifications for the post of sadr. Regulations analysed.

Reforms in the award of charitable lands, and their working under Akbar.

The department of the sadr. The transaction of business. The procedure in grants of lands. The relations with the dīvān of the Empire.

The reform and after.—The chief features of grants under Akbar. The position of the sadr and ulamā. Their efficiency—only one case of corruption.

Jahāngīr.—His attitude; rise of the sadr; frequent grants of lands to the poor but no revival of sadr's powers; conflicting passages about his powers analysed.

Shāh Jahān.—More generous than Akbar, and more methodical than Jahāngīr; on the whole very cautious in grants of lands; very few mentions; cash charities more frequent and better regulated. A case of irregularity; sadr removed from office. Inquiry and review of grant deeds. Order for inquiry analysed; inferences drawn from it and statements explained from administrative point of view; conclusions from the case about the chief features of grants under Shāh Jahān. The maximum amount of such awards. Exceptional cases.

Other charities.—Poor houses; supply of cooked meals and cash awards. Cases quoted.

Chief features of such charities and their limited benefit.

List of prominent sadrs of the period.

THE need of the state and the object of kingship, according to Muslim jurists, consists in the protection of subjects and the protection of sharī'at (Islāmic law). The Muslim king is not only expected to be a true Muslim himself, but to see that all of his Muslim subjects are also true Muslims and the dignity of Islām and Islāmic law is upheld.[1]

The protection of sharī'at means the enforcement of Islāmic law in the state and the regulation of all affairs and policy on its basis. The king exists to carry out that law, and all his orders must be based on it. The one who lives up to this standard and acts up to this ideal is called hākim-i-'ādil (a just king) and it is this position alone which entitles him to the obedience of his Muslim subjects.[2]

The protection of sharī'at has two aspects: the propagation of the knowledge of shara', and its enforcement as a law within the state. The one implies the maintenance of a class of scholars devoted to the study, the teaching and the propagation of that knowledge; and the other the appointment of one

[1] Al-Māvardī, Fr. Tr. p. 95.

Ibn-i-Khaldūn, Tr. p. 95; Pt. II. Protection and justice for all.

Ādāb-i-Saltanat, Persian text, pp. 11–12. A king should fortify his wealth by religion and secure this gift of God by thanksgiving. The one consists in the obedience to the laws of God and the other in looking after the comforts of the subjects.

[2] *Ādāb-i-Saltanat*, p. 16. The order of the king must be based upon the farmān of God.

Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk, p. 89. For the position of the king as Hākim-i-'Ādil.

MS. Or. 256 (Nizām-ul-Mulk), F. 53. For obedience to Sultān-i-'Ādil.

Siyāsat Nāma, p. 54. For the king's duty to maintain Islāmic law, and base his orders upon it; look to scholars of shara', and uphold their dignity.

from amongst those scholars, who is distinguished for learning and piety, as an adviser to the king in all his acts of state. The scholars devoted to that knowledge are called ulamā (the learned) and the one selected from amongst them is termed shaikh-ul-Islām.

The term is loosely used concerning the Delhī sultanate. The office appears under different names as shaikh-ul-Islām (the chief of Islām), qāzī-ul-quzāt (the chief of the qāzīs), and sadr (the chief).

The author of *Sulūk-ul-Mulūk* in his discussion of the position of this office in the state uses the term shaikh-ul-Islām. He says that one selected for his learning and piety from amongst the scholars of Islām was called by this name, and he, by virtue of his high learning and the respect of the office, was considered as the real guide, chief or shaikh of Islām in the state. This was the term which the scholars themselves used for him.

The kings, at times, summoned a body of ulamā as well,[1] whom they consulted on important matters. The ulamā thus summoned for advice and consultation were called sudūr, and the one permanently attached was called sadr (the chief). Thus sadr becomes synonymous with shaikh-ul-Islām, and technically he can be regarded as the chief or the representative of the ulamā in the state and in the councils of the king. From this point of view the term sadr-ul-sudūr (the chief of the sudūr) used by the Mughals was very accurate.

The position of the sadr

According to Muslim jurists the sadr is the connecting link between the king and the people, the upholder of shara' and the spokesman (naqīb) of the ulamā. He is indispensable to the state and the king. The king should show him every possible mark of respect, and consult him in all matters of law and

[1] *Siyāsat Nāma*, p. 54. A king should summon the ulamā at least once or twice a week, converse with them on religion and principles of justice, and listen to the stories of just kings.

religion. Whatever opinion he gives on such matters, the king should not show the slightest hesitation in acting upon it.

All civil and military officers of the state should carry out the orders passed by him in his capacity as a sadr, and if any opposition is offered even by a noble or a pillar of the state, the king should not be slow to punish him, so that the position of the sadr be upheld and his respect increased in the eyes of the people.

The stipend or salary of the sadr should be fixed in such a way that he may not be required to apply to the dīvān, the vazīr or any other officer of the state.

The duties of the sadr

The sadr should keep a close watch over the ulamā of the state, inquire into their condition and capacities as teachers and instructors, and exercise full control over the teaching of all sorts of knowledge in the state. Thus, while exercising a sort of censorship in this matter, he should be in touch with teachers and students, and discourage, and if necessary prohibit, the teaching of subjects which might affect the religious ideas of the Muslims.

He should encourage and properly reward honest and capable teachers, and intelligent and promising students.

The qāzīs and the muftīs should be appointed from this class of teachers and students, and deserving cases recommended to the king for award of stipends and lands.

'If the king appoints such a shaikh-ul-Islām, and he carries out his duties in a way calculated to enhance the prestige of Islām and the dignity of shara', and the promotion of its knowledge, the king can be said to have fulfilled the duty of the protection of sharī'at.'[1]

His position in the state determined the scope of his activities and outlined his duties, which were three:

[1] *Sulūk-ul-Mulūk*, Fs. 21–3.

1. As the most distinguished scholar of Islām and the religious head, he exercised a sort of censorship over education, ideas, and morals of the people. It was in this capacity that he exercised an immense influence, and his hand reached every individual of the state. Here he acted as the representative of the ulamā of the state and brought to the notice of the king what he thought detrimental or prejudicial to the interests of his religion, and the king had little option in acting upon such advice.

2. Islāmic law being the basis of the law of the state, he became the head of the judicial department and, as such, responsible for the appointment of the qāzīs and muftīs in the state, and the proper discharge of their duties. In this capacity, he kept himself in touch with all the ulamā, scholars, and students of Islām, to ensure a regular supply of officials for his department. This enhanced his power and gave him a definite place in the administration of the state.

3. As the chief connecting link between the king and the people, by virtue of his position as the chief of Islām, he recommended to the king the cases of the ulamā and scholars devoted to the service of religion for suitable stipends to relieve them from the anxiety of earning their livelihood, and also brought to the king's notice other deserving cases for state help. This duty brought him in contact with the dīvān of the state and further increased the sphere of his influence.

Early sadrs of Akbar

At the beginning of Akbar's reign the sadrs occupied an important position, but as far as the history of the period and its administrative side is concerned, their position appears to have been limited to the use of their power to award stipends and jāgīrs to the ulamā and needy people.

Under the Delhī sultanate, there is no evidence to show that the sadrs enjoyed this power, but under

Akbar its use by them is definite. About the first sadr of the period, Shaikh Gadāī, Badā'ūnī says that he annexed the lands held by old families and awarded them to those who could stoop to flatter him and attend upon him, while people of worth and good families had to suffer all sorts of insults.[1]

His successor Khvāja Muhammad Sālih Harvī continued to enjoy the same power, though according to Badā'ūnī, the dīvāns of the period had the upper hand.[2] The same power and duty is emphasized in the appointment of Shaikh 'Abdul Nabī. He was appointed sadr-ul-sudūr so that he might award madad-i-ma'āsh in consultation with Muzzaffar Khān (dīvān). The shaikh was a learned man and a distinguished scholar, and belonged to a family noted for learning and piety. He also appears to have been a man of a different type from his predecessor, and he soon asserted his power, became permanent and independent of the dīvān's interference. He made a free use of his power and awarded huge lands. Badā'ūnī says that if the awards of his period be compared with the total awards of all former Muslim kings of India, his would certainly be greater.[3] Though the statement is an exaggeration, it gives an idea of the power of the sadr at this period.

The shaikh was the last of the sadrs under Akbar, who enjoyed the full power and prestige associated with his office. The irregularities of former sadrs and the defects in the administration of the department

[1] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 29; and people used to console themselves by this couplet:

Jar farotar nashist khāqāni
Ne ū ra 'aib ne tura adab ast,
Mī nabīnī ke sūrai ikhlās
Zīr i tabbat yadā abī lahab ast.

[2] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 52.

[3] Both Abul Fazl and Badā'ūnī attribute his appointment to Muzzaffar and criticize him for it. Bāyazīd says that 'Abdul Nabī was appointed for his high learning (F. 130).

led to a close investigation, as a result of which not only were the powers of the sadr curtailed, but Akbar's faith in ulamā as a class was entirely shaken.

The powers of the sadr and the regulations for awarding lands for charitable purposes are given in the *Ā'īn* under the chapter of Sayūrghāl. Abul Fazl says: 'His Majesty, in his care for the nation, confers benefits on people of various classes . . . he considers doing so an act of divine worship.'[1]

Eligibility for land and stipends

Four classes of men were considered eligible for such grants of lands and stipends.

1. 'Inquirers after wisdom who have withdrawn from worldly occupation' and spend their time in search of knowledge.
2. 'Such as toil and practise self-denial' and have renounced the society of men.
3. 'Such as are poor and physically weak and unable to earn their livelihood.
4. 'Honourable men of gentle birth, who from want of knowledge are unable to provide for themselves.'[2]

The subsistence or allowance paid in cash was called vazīfa, and the land conferred 'milk' or madad-i-ma'āsh.

The qualifications of a sadr

'As the circumstances of the men have to be inquired into before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office. He ought to be at peace with every party and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called sadr.'[3]

Regulations analysed

The language of the above passage deserves some notice.

1. It does not make high learning and piety a necessary qualification, as required by Islāmic law. The sadr is to be experienced and honest, and thus merely an efficient officer.

[1] *Ā'īn*, p. 198. [2] Bloch., p. 268.
[3] *Ā'īn*, p. 198, lines 8–10. Bloch., p. 268.

2. It widens the scope of the grants. They are neither limited to ulamā nor to Muslims alone, but open to people of all creeds, who can be eligible according to the regulations referred to above. Hence the sadr is to be tolerant and kind to all.

3. The sadr loses the power of making awards himself. He is to inquire into the conditions of the people making petitions for such grants. Abul Fazl makes this position clearer. 'In accordance with His Majesty's instructions the deserving cases are brought to his notice by the distinguished officers of the court, and a large number of them receive the assistance they desire.' Thus the king decided the cases whether put before him by the sadr or by other officers.

Inquiries and reforms

This was the result of a series of irregularities and a gradual development of the policy of Akbar. At first, inquiry was made into the lands held by persons before the appointment of Shaikh 'Abdul Nabī, and the lands held by Afghān chaudhrīs were converted into khālsa, and only the grants certified by the new sadr were allowed to continue. As long as 'Abdul Nabī enjoyed the king's confidence, he continued to award jāgīrs, and even cases brought to the notice of the king by persons of high position were referred to him. Maulāna Muhammad Amīr, a distinguished scholar from Shīrāz, was introduced to Akbar, and he 'from the high opinion that he had of his introducers increased his dignity and sent him along with Prince Murād to the house of Shaikh 'Abdul Nabī, who was the centre of ahl-i-sa'ādat'.[1] Badā'ūnī refers to his own two or three cases put before the king in which he was asked to see the shaikh.[2] But when that confidence was shaken, the power was gradually

[1] Beveridge, p. 329. Twenty-second year.

[2] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 207. His return from Rāna's expedition (p. 237). Permission for pilgrimage withheld (p. 251).

curtailed. First, an order was passed requiring all persons holding a grant of five hundred bīghas or more to get a fresh sanction direct from the king, and, later on, all holders of more than a hundred bīghas were deprived of three-fifths of their lands.[1] Finally, during the sadārat of Mīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī, the power of the sadr was definitely reduced to the grant of land up to fifteen bīghas only, and all higher grants required the king's sanction in the first instance; and later on, under the sadārat of Mīr Sadar Jahān, all grants below a hundred bīghas were also examined, and the sadr was ordered to make necessary reductions in consultation with Abul Fazl.[2]

Other reforms connected with the grant of lands were as follows:

(*a*) Grantees desiring an exchange of land should lose one-fourth of their holdings, and receive a new grant.

(*b*) 'If anyone held sayūrg͟hāl together with a partner, and the farmān contained no reference to the share possessed by each partner, the sadr should, in the event of one of the partners dying, proceed without further inquiry to a division, the share of the deceased partner lapsing to the crown and remaining domain land, till the heirs should personally apply to His Majesty.'

(*c*) All sayūrg͟hāl lands should consist of one-half of tilled land and one half of land capable of cultivation, and if the whole be tilled land, one-fourth of the whole should be taken away.

All of Akbar's measures in this connexion were not injurious to the holders of sayūrg͟hāl or madad-i-

[1] *Ā'īn*, p. 198. In the first instance women of Īrān and Tūrān were exempted, but later on they, too, were required to get a fresh grant for more than a hundred bīghas.

[2] *Ā'īn*, p. 199. Badā'ūnī says that Shaik͟h himself seldom gave more than a hundred bīghas to anyone (p. 205). On one occasion, in reply to Badā'ūnī's complaint, he told him that he held the largest grant under him, which was one thousand bīghas (p. 207).

ma'āsh lands. When it was brought to his notice that holders of grants were not given lands in one and the same place, and the weak ones, holding lands near the khālsa or jāgīrs of mansabdārs, were harassed by unprincipled men, he ordered that they should get lands in a single place which they might choose, and certain villages were marked for this purpose. Thus the weak were protected.[1]

Similarly, when order was restored and the holders of grants, feeling secure after these siftings, made improvements in their lands and laid out gardens, if government officers tried to demand revenue taxes, they were not allowed to interfere with legitimate profits.[2]

Throughout these siftings, Akbar not only took a personal interest in the reform of the department, but several times conducted the inquiry personally. Abul Fazl has quoted several instances which Badā'ūnī has omitted, and on one occasion, he also says that in the year 987 A.H. (A.D. 1579) the king invited prominent mashāikhs from different parts of the dominions, and granted audience to each of them separately and was pleased with some of them, but they betrayed themselves. The flattery of some and the greediness of others for bīghas disgusted him, and this further created a distrust in his mind and prejudiced him against their class.[3]

But while giving credit to Akbar for his desire and effort to reform every branch of administration and

[1] *Ā'īn*, p. 199. *A.N.*, III, p. 240. There is a reference to a similar case under Sikandar Lodī.

[2] See note on the previous page. This must refer only to the case of gardens and not to lands. Jahāngīr mentions with pride that such a tax has never been levied by any monarch of his family (*Tuzūk*, p. 252).

[3] Badā'ūnī, p. 285, also p. 278; ulamā of different places invited and interviewed.

A.N., III, p. 234. Personal inquiry. And also during the Panjāb tour in the twenty-second year.

for the search of honest and efficient officers, the ulamā should not be condemned wholesale. They had passed their lives in a period of decline and decay, and they were not free from the effects which the decline of kingdoms and the degeneration of nations generally produce upon individuals. The whole of society exhibited the same signs in every branch of life and government. Though it is a matter for regret that this class did not prove itself better than the rest, it was not devoid of honest persons of real worth, scholarship, and contentment. The recorded cases must be of those persons who were really depraved and had sought influence and recommendations to reach the court and the king, but they were not all. Badā'ūnī, while honestly condemning all such persons, who belonged to his own class, points out certain cases in which their contentment was brought to the notice of the king and the people. Shaikh Alladiah Khairābādī never accepted any grant from the king. His son, Shaikh Abul Fatah, maintained the same dignity. When one Mathī Afghān Kāsī was invited by Akbar to the court, he obeyed the order; but when he reached Fatehpūr, he sent a message that he had arrived in obedience to the farmān, but he should inform His Majesty that his interviews have never proved auspicious (mubārak na āmda) to any ruler. Akbar did not trouble him any more. He was immediately allowed to return. Similarly, when Shaikh Abul Fatah, referred to above, was summoned to the court, and a question was put to him, he waved his hand and said that he was hard of hearing and could not hear, and thus he got his freedom and was dismissed.[1]

The department

The department of the sadr does not appear to have been very elaborate, like other departments of the central government. In the *Ā'īn* there is only

[1] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 286. See also cases in *Haft Aqlīm* under 'Lāhore'.

one reference that the sadr was assisted in his important duties by a distinguished clerk, Bitikchī, who had to look after the financial business and was styled dīvān-i-sa'ādat. On another occasion, in connexion with the draft of farmāns, Abul Fazl used the term daftar-i-dīvān-i-sa'ādat, which implies that he had a regular staff like other dīvāns, but his position, judged on the whole, was much inferior to that of the other dīvāns.[1]

He acted in all matters under the direct orders of the sadr, and every order or certificate of madad-i-ma'āsh issued by the office had to bear the seal of the sadr.[2]

The procedure in the grant of sayūrghāl lands was the same which was followed in the grant of jāgīrs for the salaries of mansabdārs. The deserving cases for such grants were brought to the notice of the king by the sadr, as well as by other courtiers in the darbār. The sadr presented all such cases, and the business connected with his duties, in the darbār like the heads of other departments. He stood on the right side of the throne. He was also, under Shāh Jahān, given an opportunity to introduce in the ghusal khāna petitioners who could not be presented in the darbār for lack of time, or about whom he wanted to make special mention to the king.[3]

The cases thus decided by the king followed the usual procedure. They were entered in the diary of the vāqi'a navīs, which after passing through its first stage became the yād dāsht (memorandum), and at the second, the ta'līqa and at the third the sarkhat. The sarkhat became the draft of the farmān in the

[1] *Ā'īn*, pp. 195 and 198.

[2] MS. Add. 6,598.

[3] See references in Chapter II. MS. Add. 6,599, F. 33b. All cases to be put before the king and action to be taken in accordance with the orders. Orders to be executed with the seal of the sadr.

office of the dīvān-i-kul, and when it had been checked, signed and sealed by the mustaufī, it was sent to the office of the dīvān-i-sa'ādat, who noted its contents and had it signed by the sadr. After his seal and signatures, it was forwarded to the dīvān-i-kul.[1]

The cash allowances and stipends paid through this department were dealt with like the salaries of the begams and of the ahadīs, and parvānchas were made out for them to avoid delay and inconvenience.

The sadr and the dīvān

The office of the dīvān received copies of all the orders passed by the king on cases submitted by the sadr and entered in the diary of the vāqi'a navīs, when it had reached the stage of a yād dāsht.[2]

When the yād dāsht reached the stage of a farmān and it had been signed and sealed by the sadr, it was forwarded to the dīvān.

Similarly, the dīvān received the parvānchas issued for the salaries paid through the department of the sadr.

The dīvān's office also received the list of persons holding charitable lands with necessary information supplied in the form of a chart by the department of the sadr in accordance with the regulations.[3]

The chief sadr received a statement like that which

[1] *Ā'īn*, pp. 192–5, Bloch., pp. 258–63. For the details of the procedure see Chapter III.

[2] MS. Or. 1,641, Fs. 36–86b.

[3] The study of the two farmāns of grants of land made to Kaiqubād Parsī in the province of Ahmadābād, published by J. J. Modī in his book, *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, is very useful for the purpose. It confirms many of the points mentioned in the *Ā'īn* about such grants—the procedure followed in making them, the draft of farmāns, and orders issued by the central department to the provincial officers concerned. In this case the grant was first reduced to one-third as in all other cases, but on appeal the old grant of 300 bīghas was made in the forty-eighth year of Akbar's reign. (Farmāns given on pp. 38, 119.)

follows[1] from the sadrs of the provinces, showing the land held by the grant-holders of madad-i-ma'āsh in each pargana.

Total land held in the Pargana	5,500 bīghas
Lapsed to the Government in the year ...	100 bīghas
Balance.	5,400 bīghas

Granted under Akbar	Under Jahāngīr	Under Shāh Jahān
2,100 bīghas	2,100 bighās	1,200 bighās

The reforms of Akbar were directed in the first instance towards the resumption of lands held by undeserving persons without legal authority. The inquiries which began with the holdings of five-hundred bīghas and above were in the end carried even to less than a hundred bīghas. Abul Fazl is silent about the resumptions of lands which were made as a result of these inquiries, but Badā'ūnī is loud enough in announcing and condemning them in his own way. Though he has nowhere given any figures, his remarks are suggestive enough, and they give a clear idea of the extent to which these resumptions were carried under Akbar. He says that in the year 987 A.H. (A.D. 1579) when political disturbances in Bengāl and Behār spread to other parts of the Empire also, the ulamā said that 'the king disturbed our madad-i-ma'āsh lands and God has now disturbed his country'.[2] Similarly, at the appointment of Mīr Fatahulla to the sadārat, he remarks that the office was nothing more than siyāha navīsī (clerkship), and the mīr was raised to the office not to give lands to the poor but to take from them that which they held. In the year 994 (1585) when Kamālāī Shīrāzī was made the officiating sadr in the absence of Mīr Fatahulla, who was sent to the Deccan, Badā'ūnī thought the arrangement was made to resume the

The reform and after

[1] MS. Add. 6,598, F. 34a.

[2] Badā'ūnī, p. 343.

remaining tracts of charitable lands from their holders.

The second object was to regulate the department and the future grants of madad-i-ma'āsh. As a result of a series of inquiries into the grants of lands, the powers of the sadr were greatly reduced. Shaikh 'Abdul Nabī could award as much as he liked ('ālam mī dād), but Mīr Fatahulla in spite of his high position and the favour of the king had not the power to grant even five bīghas.[1] Though the statement is not without exaggeration, it is not very far from truth, because Abul Fazl says that under Mīr Sadr Jahān, the successor of Mīr Fatahulla, the powers of the sadr were limited to the grant of fifteen bīghas. This was the last of the orders of Akbar in this matter and it appears to have stood till the end of his reign.

Though resumptions were made on a large scale and the powers of the sadr were reduced, there is no reason to believe that further grants were not made. As late as the forty-first year of the reign, Qāzī Nūrulla was deputed to inquire into the condition of the sayūrghāl lands of the province of Āgra and to make fresh grants to the needy.[2]

Appointment of sadrs in subas

Another reform in the same connexion and with the same object of curtailing the powers of the sadr was that separate sadrs were appointed for the provinces, and the list of appointments shows that no regard was shown to the necessary qualifications for the office as required by Shara'. In the words of Abul Fazl they were 'experienced persons of good intentions'.[3] The late S. M. Edwardes[4] said that

[1] Badā'ūnī, p. 343. [2] *A.N.*, III, p. 713.

[3] *A.N.* III, p. 372, twenty-sixth year. Delhī, Mālva and Gujrāt—Hakīm Abul Fatah; Āgra, Kalpī and Kālinjar—Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizī; from Hājīpūr to Sarū—Hakīm Humām; Behār—Hakīm 'Alī; The Panjāb—Qāzī 'Alī Badakhshī; Bengāl—Hakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk.

[4] Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 174.

in 1581, Akbar abolished the appointment of sadr altogether, substituting in its place six provincial sadrs. This statement is incorrect and he has not given any authority for it. The office of the chief sadr continued throughout the reign of Akbar, as the appended list of their names shows. The appointment of provincial sadrs was in connexion with the organization of the department, and similar to the appointments of provincial dīvāns and bakhshīs. The arrangement continued as a part of the administrative system throughout the long period of Akbar's reign.

The efficiency

Akbar's object appears to have been achieved, and efficiency established in the department. After the fall of Shaikh 'Abdul Nabī, Akbar's personal vigilance appears to have continued throughout the remaining period of twenty-seven years (1578–1605), and during this long period there is only one case of irregularity in the department, in which the charge of corruption and bribery was brought against Hājī Ibrāhīm Sirhindī, the sadr of Gujrāt, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign. He was tried, found guilty, and imprisoned.[1]

Though Badā'ūnī condemns the regular resumption of lands till the close of his work, he, too, does not mention any case of irregularity besides the one quoted above.

Jahāngīr

Mīrān Sadr Jahān, the last of Akbar's sadrs, was known to Jahāngīr since his boyhood. When as a prince he used to go to Shaikh 'Abdul Nabī's house to take lessons in hadīs, Mīrān acted there as Shaikh's assistant. Jahāngīr was on familiar terms with him, and had on one occasion said to him: 'After my accession to power, I will pay off all your debts or give you the rank which you then demand.' Jahāngīr kept his promise and gave the

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 408. Badā'ūnī, II, pp. 277–8. He is more definite.

sadr the option. He demanded the rank of four thousand which was conferred upon him.[1]

The king's friendship with the sadr and the favours bestowed upon him appear to have considerably increased the prestige of the sadārat. Besides these relations Jahāngīr was personally more inclined towards religion and the ulamā, and saints in general. Thus not only was favour shown to the sadr but an order was given that he should every day present deserving people.[2]

Similarly, to Hājī Koka, the foster sister of Akbar, was entrusted the duty of presenting deserving women for grants of lands and cash, in the female apartments.[3]

Under Jahāngīr grants of lands to the poor besides other sorts of charities were more frequent, and higher than can reasonably be expected under Akbar, and there are several mentions about them in his memoirs, but the most conspicuous feature of such grants is that they were all made by the king in person.

'As I have made a regulation that deserving people and darveshes should be produced before me every night, so that, after looking into their conditions, land, cash, and dress, may be awarded to them, amongst them they produced a man. . . .'[4]

The same statement is repeated at the close of the ninth year where he says that, in accordance with this regulation, 'this year I awarded to the poor with my own hand and in my presence fifty-five thousand rupīs cash, one lac and ninety thousand bīghas of land, fourteen villages, and twenty-six

[1] *M.U.*, III, p. 350. He held the rank of 2,000 at that time.

[2] *Tuzuk*, p. 5.

[3] *Tuzuk*, p. 21. She was the sister of Sa'ādat Yār Koka. *M.U.*, I, p. 133. After her the duty was entrusted to the nurse of Nūr Jahān Begam, on whose seal the sadr acted in the case of females.

[4] *Tuzuk*, p. 124.

ploughs and eleven thousand kharvār (ass-loads) of rice'.[1]

Similarly, he reviewed the condition of the people of Cambay in the twelfth year of his reign, during his visit to Gujrāt. The poor got grants of land or cash, while others received khil'ats and horses. Nearly every one of the residents of the port was rewarded in one way or another.[2] At Ahmadābād arrangements were made to inquire into the condition of females. While leaving Ahmadābād, Jahāngīr says: 'At the time that Ahmadābād was adorned by the setting up of the royal standards my employment by day and night was the seeing of necessitous persons and the bestowing on them of money and land. . . . My sole endeavour was that as I, a king, had come to this country after many years, no single person should be excluded. God is my witness that I did not fall short in this task and that I never took any rest from this duty. Although I have not been delighted with my visit to Ahmadābād, yet I have this satisfaction—that my coming has been the cause of benefit to a large number of poor people.'[3]

In the fourteenth year there is a reference to the award of 44,780 bīghas, two entire villages, 320 kharvār of grain from Kashmīr and seven qulbahs (ploughlands) in Kābul being given as madad-i-ma'āsh.[4] In the fifteenth year an order was given to present the necessitous people and deserving persons in Kashmīr.[5] In the sixteenth year 85,000 bīghas of land, 3,325 kharvār of grain, four villages, two qulbahs and one garden were given away, besides cash charities.[6] In the seventeenth year, when the sufferings of the people of Kashmīr, owing to the severity of cold in the winter season, were brought

[1] *Tuzuk*, pp. 136–7. [2] *Tuzuk*, p. 207.
[3] *Tuzuk*, p. 218. Rogers, p. 440. [4] *Tuzuk*, p. 268.
[5] *Tuzuk*, p. 303. [6] *Tuzuk*, p. 345.

to the king's notice, the order was given that a village with a revenue of Rs. 3,000 should be allotted for the purpose of providing winter clothing for the poor and hot water in mosques for ablution.

This is the last reference in the memoirs as far as the grant of lands is concerned, and as noted elsewhere the period onward was the period when Jahāngīr's troubles due to ill-health and political conditions commenced, and lasted till the close of his life.

The power of the sadr in making grants not revived

In all of these awards, there is no reference to the grants being made by the sadr. The figures given above are the figures for the year mentioned therein. It was the usual practice of Jahāngīr to give such figures in each case at the close of every year. The same is found in peshkash, rewards and hunts. Hence it can be inferred that (1) either no grant was made by the sadr at all. Every case was referred to the king and his sanction obtained, and thus every case came to be recorded in the diary of the vāqi'a navīs on whose record the total was based, or (2) that the figures do not include the grants made by the sadr independently in his office, and (3) that in that case they must be very small, otherwise they must have been mentioned by Jahāngīr. But a passage in *Māasir-ul-Umarā* clashes with this conclusion. The author, writing about the influence of the sadr, says that 'Āsaf Khān (vakīl) reported to the king against his liberality in the grants of madad-i-ma'āsh lands in the words, 'What 'Arsh-i-Āshiānī (Akbar) had bestowed (upon the poor) in fifty years, Mīrān Sadr Jahān has given away in five years'.[1] It means not only that the sadr had the power of making grants, but that he exercised that power very liberally; and this view goes entirely against the impression formed by the study of the memoirs. In the absence of any other

[1] *M.U.*, III, p. 350.

source of information and definite material on the point, the solution lies in the comparison of dates of the references noted above with those of the statement of the *Māasir*. The above complaint refers to the period of the first five years[1] of Jahāngīr's reign, while the personal references of the king are recorded between the eighth and the seventeenth years of the reign. Thus there is reason to believe that though Jahāngīr ordered in the first year of his reign that deserving persons should be presented before him every night, the sadr had the power of making grants on his own authority, and he exercised that power freely. After the complaint was made, the king took the matter in his own hands, and gradually the power of the sadr was put in abeyance, if not definitely curtailed. Besides this, the sadr had grown very old, and though he continued to attend the court, he could not be expected to have performed his duties with the same zeal as he did in the early part of the reign. This impression is supported by casual mention, in the memoirs, of persons who were appointed to present such cases, or who presented the needy on their own account, while there is no mention of the sadr at all.[2]

Thus the conclusion is that:

1. The sadr under Jahāngīr had the power of making grants of land on his own authority and the scope of that power in the early part of the reign was much greater than that fixed by Akbar.
2. This power did not last long, and probably after the fifth year and definitely after the seventh year, the king himself made all such grants.
3. The figures, given in the memoirs, of grants

[1] Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī was sent to the Deccan, where he died in the seventh year.

[2] The terms used are 'trusted persons', 'persons acquainted with my temperament (mizājdān) should present'. Names mentioned in connexion with grants and charities.—*Tuzuk*, pp. 49, 51, 121, 218, 229, 272, 303.

made between the eighth and the seventeenth years do not represent the average grants but the highest made by Jahāngīr.

4. There is no record of such grants between the seventeenth and the twenty-first year, and having regard to the political conditions and Jahāngīr's worries, there appears to be no possibility of such grants being made in that period.

Shāh Jahān

Shāh Jahān continued the policy of Jahāngīr towards the poor and the ulamā of his sect, but he was more methodical than his father and more generous than Akbar. On the whole, he appears to have made distinction between various kinds of charities. He was very cautious in making grants of lands, while, on the other hand, he fixed large sums for charitable purposes to be spent every year in the manner and on occasions prescribed by him. There is a complete record of such charities from year to year, which is an indication of the strict adherence to his orders and of the regularity in procedure, which must ultimately have depended upon the efficiency of the department concerned.

But as far as the grants of lands are concerned, there is only one record, and it is found in the first year of the reign. 'Mūsavī Khān Sadr, in accordance with the royal orders, presented a group of needy and deserving persons before His Majesty. All were benefited. Besides the daily allowances and the grants of madad-i-ma'āsh lands, rūpīs thirty thousand were given away in cash.'[1] 'The total grants made in the year were nearly four lacs of bīghas of land together with 120 entire villages, besides a large amount distributed in cash.'[2]

This is the only reference found in Shāh Jahān's

[1] and [2] Lāhorī, I, p. 200 and p. 251. The amount recorded in different places came to Rs. 50,000, besides one lac sent to Kābul to relieve people of the distress caused by the attack of the ruler of Tūrān (p. 216).

reign about such grants, and as it was in the first year of the reign, always a year of rewards and charities, the record must be regarded the highest, and the recurring grants of the reign as not worthy of mention in the annals of the reign. There are two more references to individual grants, but they are of a different nature and they have been treated below in a separate section. But there is evidence from which to infer that grants continued throughout the reign, but were made with caution and discretion, and that they never reached such huge figures as to be recorded.

A case of irregularity

The removal of Mūsavī Khān Sadr from his office in the sixth year, and the complaint brought by his successor, Saiyid Jalāl, against his administration of the department, reveals certain facts connected with his sadārat. Saiyid Jalāl, a highly distinguished scholar, and the representative of a reputed family of saiyids, was appointed sadr in place of Mūsavī Khān, because 'he did not perform the duties of this high office as they ought to be performed'. Some time after, the new sadr brought to the notice of the king that:

1. Mūsavī Khān had awarded madad-i-ma'āsh lands and vazīfas (stipends) to undeserving persons without having brought them to the notice of His Majesty.

2. Some occupied the land and enjoyed the vazīfa on the basis of forged farmāns (farāmīn-i-ubāsī). On the basis of the report an order was passed that:

(*a*) The rent of one fasl (crop) of all madad-i-ma'āsh lands of the Dominions, whether in the khālsa or in the jāgīrs of amīrs and mansabdārs, should be withheld and deposited elsewhere.

(*b*) It should be given to the holders of grants when their asnād (certificates) were verified and their claims established.

(*c*) The holders of grants personally known to the king should be exempted from this order.

(*d*) The holders of grants residing in the capital and its suburbs should see the sadr-ul-sudūr, while those of the provinces should get their sanads verified by the sadr of their provinces, who would act in consultation with the governor.

As the order left great scope for the discretion of the officers concerned, who were to examine the validity of the farmāns, as well as of the claims of the holders, it caused great consternation in the holders of such grants. Hence another order was issued to allay their fears and to limit the discretionary powers of the officers,[1] by which:

1. The rent withheld was to be paid to the holders, inquiries instituted, and the rent of the next crop to be withheld if necessary verification was not obtained by that time.
2. Holders of grants residing in the capital and suburbs were to get the verification from the chief sadr, while in the provinces the sadrs in consultation with the provincial governors, were to issue fresh certificates to the holders of the farmāns of Akbar, Jahāngīr and of the present reign, after inquiring into cases of death, flight (farārī), transfers and possessions.
3. If the holders were soldiers or artisans their lands were to be resumed, while the rest fulfilling the conditions were not to be interfered with.
4. If the original holders of the grant were dead and the grant included the term 'with sons' (ma' farzandān), the lands were to be allowed to remain in the possession of their rightful successors; if there

[1] The first order which required the investigation of claims was also set aside because Shāh Jahān's favourite daughter was seriously burnt at this time, and he did not want to touch this class of people on such an occasion.

were no such mention in the farmān, the land must lapse to the government; and, if its possessors were considered deserving, a separate report was to be made about them to the court.[1]

This case together with the step taken by the king and the new sadr, who was neither interested in the subordinate officers of his department nor concerned with its previous administration, must have led to a thorough overhauling and sifting.

It also shows that (1) the sadr had no power to make grants on his own authority but he did so. Hence the report was made (be ān ke ahvāl ānhā ba 'arz . . . rasānad) that he made grants to persons without bringing their condition to the notice of His Majesty; and (2) there were certain cases in which the validity of the farmān was also challenged. The words are 'ba farāmīn-i-libāsī arāzī-i-madad-i-ma'āsh va vazāif mutassarrif and'.

These cases must be regarded as the greatest irregularities of the department, but it leads to the question of how such cases could succeed. As far as the regulations are concerned a farmān for such grants required nearly the same procedure which was necessary for the grant of a jāgīr to a mansabdār. It was a lengthy process and the necessary papers passed through numerous hands. Thus a case initiated by the department of the sadr could not reach its final stage without passing through the prescribed course, which left no scope at all for a fresh grant beyond and above the powers allowed to the sadr. Thus I am inclined to conclude that the charge against Mūsavī Khān was that he made grants to undeserving persons (ghair mustahqān) as the text says, but they were within the powers allowed to him. As they were cases which were not brought to the king's notice, so the cause of complaint and the chance of their reversal arose.

[1] Lāhorī, II, seventeenth year, pp. 365–6. *Mi'rāt*, MS. F. 81.

The second charge is still more serious and more difficult to understand—how was it possible to forge a farmān in the face of the regulations which existed and that, too, in the time of Shāh Jahān, who exercised a strict vigilance over the affairs, and under the vizārat of a minister like Islām Khān? It may also be noted that the office of the ʻarz-i-mukarrar and the dārogha of the ghusal khāna, both of which were highly responsible posts in connexion with farmāns, were held by Saʻdulla Khān at that time. But as the words are definite, they are to be interpreted in one way or the other. I am inclined to think that there was no scope for irregularity as far as new grants were concerned. It must have been done in cases in which the sadr had some option, and in my opinion such an irregularity was possible in the lands which were entirely under the charge of the sadr, as from time to time entire villages were set apart for such grants. Secondly, such underhand dealings would be possible in cases of the deaths of the original holders of grants, by allowing their successors to remain in possession without proper authority. In both these cases the sadr could manage to let the possession of the land pass into the hands of persons whom he might favour, without necessarily being detected.

This inference is corroborated by the orders which were passed in this connexion. If the cases were of forgery of farmāns, they must have been treated by the government with great severity, because such occasions are rare, and governments usually take full advantage of them to prevent their recurrence; but there is no mention of such a step. The steps taken show that the cases were not of a serious nature. Secondly, the order definitely defines the scope of investigation, which includes cases arising from deaths. In all such cases no fresh farmān was required and a certificate must have been enough,

and, obviously, it would be the certificate of the chief sadr.

However, this interpretation of the words used by the writer of the chronicles is made in the light of the administrative system of the Empire. It does not in any way lessen the importance of the charge brought against the sadr, which was certainly a serious one, but at the same time it shows that such cases did not pass unnoticed. The sadr was removed from his office even before these cases came to light. Hence the suspicions of the king or his secret information which led to his removal were fully justified.

It may also be observed that the sadr had greater power of committing such irregularities in cases of vazāifs, for which only parvānchas were required, and for which other officers must have mainly relied upon the papers submitted by the department concerned.

The main conclusions drawn from this case may be summarized thus:

1. The sadr under Shāh Jahān also had certain powers to make grants.

2. The grants continued throughout the period.

3. The grants were not big.

4. The grants were ordinarily made for the lifetime of the grantee.

5. Soldiers and artisans were not ordinarily eligible for such grants.

6. The case revealed irregularities of the sadr: they were promptly attended to by the king, and the entire holdings of the sayūrghal lands and the farmāns of all three reigns were examined. Thus the department was purged for the first time since the early inquiries conducted in Akbar's reign.

7. The object of the inquiry was not to resume the lands on the lines followed by Akbar, but to

detect irregularities of the department and ensure honesty in the holders of grants.

The maximum amount of awards

There is no definite record to show the amount of such awards, but casual references in the annals collected together do give an idea of it. It appears that before Akbar turned his attention towards the department the awards were much higher than those which became settled later on. In the case of a descendant of Muhammad Ghaus, a famous saint, Badā'ūnī mentions that he was given a jāgīr of a kror,[1] but later on there appear to be very few cases of even a thousand. When Akbar lost faith in Shaikh 'Abdul Nabī and ordered the revision of grants, the order issued referred to lands of 500 and above, which means that the maximum number of awards was between 500 and 1,000. 'Abdul Nabī's retort to Badā'ūnī that he had given him the highest madad-i-ma'āsh, which was 1,000 bīghas, also shows this. On another occasion, Badā'ūnī in his usual way says that the holdings of 1,000 and 500 were in most cases reduced to 100 only,[2] and 'Abdul Nabī himself usually granted only up to 100 bīghas to the teachers of hadīs, etc.[3] Thus the award of 100 to 500 bīghas seems to be the normal course during the rest of Akbar's reign and it appears to have been maintained by his successors. Jahāngīr makes a special mention of an award of 1,000 bīghas to Maulāna Muhammad Amīn, the disciple of Shaikh Mahmūd Kamāl, a distinguished saint of his time, whose residence Akbar had visited, and by whose company Jahāngīr himself was much affected at Lāhore; and similarly there is one mention of an exceptional award of five villages to Shams Khan, a hermit near Kābul whose residence he visited. Under Shāh Jahān, a faqīr, Hāmūn, whose ointment

[1] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 34. I think this means bīghas and not rupīs as the author usually omits the word bīgha in such expressions.

[2] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 274. [3] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 204.

cured the wounds of Begam Sāhib, after she was badly burnt, was awarded one village[1] in his native place, and it was one of the most unusual occasions of the reign; and one Muhammad Aslam, a distinguished qāzī, is mentioned with an estate yielding Rs. 2,000 in Kābul.[2] Both of these are rare cases and that is why they are particularly mentioned.

Thus 100 to 500 bīghas appears to be normal, 1,000 very unusual or the highest in ordinary circumstances, and above 1,000 very rare.

As to the value of a bīgha, the revenue derived from it varied in several provinces, but it was never less than one rupī,[3] and as for a village, it appears that at places it yielded as much as Rs. 3,000,[4] but the five villages given by Jahāngīr near Kābul cannot be expected to have yielded so much.

Exceptional cases

There are a few scattered cases in which the general rules of awarding madad-i-ma'āsh lands were not strictly observed, but as they do not fall under any of the four groups fixed by Akbar, they should be regarded as exceptional.

In the first year of his reign, Jahāngīr made such grants to the zamīndārs of the Panjāb in the tracts of land lying between the Chenāb and the Behat rivers for help given to him in suppressing the revolt of his son, Khusrau.[5] In the fifth year when a complaint was made by a widow against Muqarrab Khān, the governor of Gujrāt, that he had shielded one of his servants, who had murdered her daughter, Jahāngīr gave away half of the jāgīr of the governor held by him in Cambay in lieu of his salary as madad-i-ma'āsh to the widow.[6] Shāh Jahān while deposing one of his generals, Allah Vardī Khān, in the sixteenth year of his reign, gave him madad-i-ma'āsh land yielding 34 lacs of dāms (Rs. 8,500

[1] Lāhorī, II, p. 409. [2] Sālih, p. 444. [3] Bloch., p. 270.
[4] *Tuzuk*, p. 345. [5] *Tuzuk*, p. 32. [6] *Tuzuk*, p. 83.

yearly) for his subsistence,[1] and a village to Hāmūn Faqīr as a reward, as noted above.

A study of the forms used for such grants shows that lands were given for laying out gardens which were required to be kept open to the public, and ultimately to be used for the benefit of the poor, and to give shelter to travellers.[2]

Other charities

Another important function connected with the duties of the sadr was looking after the poor and the destitute and meeting their needs and requirements out of the funds placed at his disposal for this purpose. This mostly consisted in feeding the poor on particular occasions, or during famines, and providing for their clothing, especially in winter. Under Akbar, this part of the department also appears to have been organized. Abul Fazl, in the *Ā'īn*, under the chapter on Alms, says, 'His Majesty bestows upon the needy money and necessaries. . . . Many enjoy daily, monthly or yearly allowances, which they receive without being kept waiting . . . it would take up too much time to describe the presents made daily to beggars. . . .'[3] 'There is a treasurer alway in waiting at court, and every beggar whom His Majesty sees, is sure to find relief.'[4]

Cash

Akbar always had cash ready by his hand at court, in the palace, and on his outings. A courtier nominated by him kept some gold and silver in the court, a krōr of dāms (Rs. 2,500) in the palace, and a large sum of money was always carried in a purse on his excursions.[5]

Badā'ūnī corroborates this statement, though he means to ridicule it. 'In the evening there was a regular court assembly of needy Hindūs and Musalmāns, all sorts of people, men and women, healthy

[1] Lāhorī, II, pp. 309, 409.

[2] MS. Add. 6,585. F. 147b. (See facsimile of such a grant in the Appendix.) [3] *Ā'īn*, p. 197. Bloch., p. 266.

[4] *Ā'īn*, p. 197. Bloch., p. 266. [5] *Ā'īn*, p. 11. Bloch., pp. 14–15.

and sick, a queer gathering and a most terrible crowd.'[1] On two occasions he himself was benefited by the bounty of Akbar and given cash from the same fund. 'When I went up and stretched my hand to do the pābos (touch the feet), His Majesty withdrew his feet, and when I had gone out of dīvān khāna, he called me again, and filling his both hands with gold, he gave me fifty-six asharfīs (gold mohars) and allowed me to depart.'[2] When on his return from the Ranā's expedition, he went to see Akbar, he was given ninety-six asharfīs in the same manner.[3]

It also appears that Akbar had some arrangements for distributing charities in cash outside the court as well. 'On one Friday, had assembled the people in the polo ground where about a lac men and women assembled. Sultān Khvāja Sadr and Qulīj Khān distributed cash, but there was much chaos and about eighty of the women and children were hurt and crushed. Accordingly the officers were ordered to admit less number on such occasions;' and Badā'ūnī says that after some time the practice was given up.[4] It does not appear to have been revived either under Jahāngīr or Shāh Jahān. In the twenty-third year of the reign, Akbar regulated charity by erecting permanent poor houses and sarāis, 'so that the poor and the needy of the world might have a home'. Arrangements were made for poor travellers also, and Abul Fazl says that 'in a short space of time the orders were admirably carried out and those without resources enjoyed the comforts of a home in a foreign land'.[5] Badā'ūnī says

[1] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 326.

[2] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 228. Badā'ūnī proceeding on Ranā's expedition.

[3] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 269.

[4] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 324. He puts this arrangement in 994 while Abul Fazl mentions it in 986.

[5] *A.N.*, III, p. 262. Bev., p. 381.

that separate arrangements were made for the Hindūs and the Muslims. One building was named Dharampūra and the other Khairpura. When a large number of Hindū jogīs flocked to the place, a third house was opened exclusively for them and it was named Jogīpura, and Akbar used to go to meet them secretly at night.[1]

The practice of thus feeding the poor and making arrangements for travellers and also providing them with food in the sarāis was continued by Jahāngīr, and the order was given in the first year of the reign for making arrangements to supply meals to the poor and travellers in such houses.[2] Under Akbar and also under Jahāngīr, by the time of this order, the arrangement appears to have been limited to the capital and its suburbs. Hence, in the sixth year of the reign Jahāngīr ordered the erection of such houses in all the big cities like Ahmadābād, Allahābād, Lāhore, Delhī, Āgra: he says that six had already been established and twenty-four others were now ordered.[3]

There are several cases under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān of making provision for the distribution of cooked food in times of famine in different parts of the Empire. In the first year of the reign Jahāngīr sent Rs. 3,000 to Kashmīr for this purpose.[4] Shāh Jahān in the fourth year of his reign had such arrangements made at Burhānpur and Ahmadābād, and Rs. 5,000 were distributed every Monday, besides cooked meals, and Rs. 50,000 were sent to Ahmadābād.[5] Similarly in the nineteenth year, Rs. 200 per day were sanctioned for ten different places for the supply of cooked meals and Rs. 10,000 were sanctioned for other relief and placed at the disposal of

[1] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 324. [2] *Tuzuk*, p. 35. Rogers, p. 75.
[3] *Tuzuk*, p. 99. Rogers, p. 204.
[4] *Tuzuk*, p. 36. Rogers, p. 77.
[5] Lāhorī, p. 363. *Mir'āt*, MS. F. 76b.

the sadr. Rs. 30,000 were sanctioned in the following year for the same purpose.[1]

All three emperors utilized other occasions also for charities, the most common being the birthday of the king and his sons, Hindū and Muslim festivals, the entry of the king into a city during his tours, and on his return to the capital; illness on the part of the king or of his children and their recoveries also formed occasions for the benefit of the poor.[2]

Besides these occasions which were usual under Akbar and Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān alloted Rs. 72,000 to be distributed every year on five occasions connected with his faith as a Muslim.[3] They were continued throughout his reign and the sum was distributed at the place where the king happened to be on that particular occasion. Thus the benefit was not limited to the capital.

The chief feature of those charities is that they proceeded from the conception of the king's duties towards his subjects, and as far as the poor were concerned Muslims nowhere made any difference between caste and creed. The state considered it to

[1] Lāhorī, II, pp. 472, 489 and 632. The arrangement continued for one year.

[2] The most conspicuous example under this head is the illness and recovery of Shāh Jahān's favourite daughter, Begam Sāhib, seventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign. Lāhorī, II, pp. 354, 394, 395, 400.

[3]

12th Rabī I, Prophet's birthday	Rs. 12,000
27th Rajab	,, 10,000
15th Sha'bān	,, 10,000
16th Ramazān (the Month of Fasts)	,, 30,000
10th Muharram, Caliph 'Alī's Martyrdom ...	,, 10,000
Total	Rs. 72,000

and Rs. 50,000 on the Anniversary Day of Queen Mumtāz Mahal; if the king happened to be away from the capital only Rs. 12,000 were spent. This charity was limited to the city of Āgra. It may be pointed out that the benefit of the Rs. 72,000, in my opinion, must have been limited to Muslims, as such charities are by Islāmic tradition only given to people of the faith and of good conduct.

be its duty to provide the means of living for its subjects; thus those unable to earn their living were maintained by the state, and the department of sadr performed that function. It was for the same purpose that Akbar devoted so much attention to purging this department of its evil practices and limiting its benefit to the deserving ones. The four groups of people considered to be deserving[1] included those whose energies were devoted to the good of the public, and whose time was better engaged in it than it could otherwise have been, hence they were freed from the care of earning their livelihood. This referred to scholars of all classes and the ulamā and darveshes devoted to the cause of their religion. The third ensured the protection of the old families of good birth whose descendants through the vicissitudes of time were unable to support themselves. There are numerous examples of such cases, and special instructions were issued to provincial officers to attend to them. The provisions made for the descendants of government officers, and arrangements to maintain and educate the sons of nobles at the court, after the death of their fathers, were all the result of the same policy. The fourth group included the old, the weak, the disabled or incapacitated, and also those who at times fell under adverse circumstances. They can be termed as unemployed in the modern sense. The case of one Sheikh Ziāulla was referred to Akbar, and it was said that his family were so hard pressed that they were all living on grain only. He belonged to a respectable family of scholars. Akbar was much affected and he included him among those who attended his private assemblies in the 'ibādat khāna.[2]

The second feature was that Akbar took this duty upon himself, and most of these charities were distributed by him or under his supervision. The power

[1] See p. 262. [2] Badā'ūnī, II, pp. 201–2.

of the sadr and his influence were curtailed in this respect also. The poor houses were placed under Abul Fazl. The dīvān worked with the sadr on other occasions. Jahāngīr continued the same tradition and he was very cautious in this respect. He often appointed several persons to distribute such charities so that their benefit might be more general.[1] On one occasion he appointed twelve persons to distribute Rs. 1,000 every Thursday during his stay in Kābul.[2] Shāh Jahān in the twentieth year of his reign entrusted the work to fifteen trusted persons.[3]

The third feature was that in spite of the good intentions of these monarchs and the large sums spent on such charities, the benefits were not lasting. Charities do not appear to have been well regulated under Muslim monarchs. The benefits in this sense were occasional and temporary. No permanent institution or organization came into existence for charities apart from the fixed vazīfas and grants of lands. At the most it had the advantage of saving a section of the poor from starvation, and the king made it his chief concern wherever he moved.

THE SADRS

AKBAR'S REIGN.—

1. Shaikh Gadāī Kamboh.
2. Khvāja Muhammad Sālih.
3. Shaikh 'Abdul Nabī.
4. Sultān Khvāja.
5. Mīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī.
6. Mīrān Sadr Jahān.

JAHĀNGĪR'S REIGN.—

Mīrān Sadr Jahan continued till death at the age of 120 (date not known, references found till eleventh year of the reign).

7. Mūsavī Khān (date of appointment not known).

[1] *Tuzuk*. Examples of appointing more than one person, pp. 21, 39, 49, 51, 120. Widows and other helpless people collected, and Jahāngīr distributed charities with his own hands, near Ahmadābād (p. 229).

[2] *Tuzuk*, p. 51. [3] Lāhorī, p. 631.

Shāh Jahān's Reign.—

Mūsavī Khān continued till the sixteenth year of Shāh Jahān's reign, deposed from office.

8. Saiyid Sadr Jalāl Bokhārī Gujrātī (till his death in the twentieth year).
9. Saiyid Hidāyatulla, twenty-first year till the end of the reign. (Communicated with Aurangzebe on behalf of Shāh Jahān together with Afzal Khān.)

Most of Akbar's sadrs had no mansab, and were given lands only. The last one, Mīrān Sadr Jahān, held the rank of 2,000. He was raised to the rank of 4,000 by Jahāngīr and finally reached 5,000 and 1,500. Mūsavī Khān started at 3,000, reached 4,000 and 750. Saiyid Jalāl started at 4,000 and 700, reached 6,000 and 2,000. It was the highest rank held by a sadr, and he was decidedly the best sadr of the line and highly honoured and reputed for scholarship, honesty, integrity and selflessness.

CHAPTER IX

THE POSITION OF MINISTERS AND CHECKS IMPOSED ON THEIR POWER

OUTLINE

The departure from Muslim jurists.
The chief diwan and chief bakhshi.
The mir saman.
The sadr.
The relative position of ministers.
Checks on ministers' powers.
1. Officers at court associated with ministers.
2. Councils not limited to ministers. Mode of meetings—methods of deliberation—nature of the proceedings.
3. The vigilance of the king.

CHAPTER IX

THE POSITION OF MINISTERS AND CHECKS IMPOSED ON THEIR POWER

OUTLINE

The departure from Muslim jurists.
The chief dīvān and chief bakhshī.
The mīr sāmān.
The sadr.
The relative position of ministers.
Checks on ministers' powers.

1. Officers at court associated with state work.
2. Councils not limited to ministers: kinds of meetings—methods of deliberations—nature of matters discussed.
3. The vigilance of the king.

THE position assigned to the vazīr by Muslim jurists, the influence exercised by the vazīrs of eastern Muslim monarchies and the objects with which Akbar started to reorganize the vizārat in his Empire have been noted in the previous chapters.

The departure from Muslim jurists

The Muslim jurists, in giving all power and influence into the hands of one vazīr and suggesting the possibilities of an unlimited vizārat, provided facilities for the proper conduct of administration by one all-powerful minister under weak, negligent or minor monarchs. Akbar started with the idea of creating safeguards against the powers of such a minister and of depriving him of the influence which could make him all-powerful in the state. Thus the aim and objects of Akbar were opposed to those of the Muslim jurists and he departed from their tradition.

The vakīl of the Mughals, who concentrated all civil, military and judicial powers in his own hands, was the first to be affected by the policy of Akbar. The office was retained with all its former dignity and status but was deprived of all power.

The chief dīvān and the chief bakhshī

The real civil and military powers were divided between the chief dīvān and the mīr bakhshī, but they were not kept independent of each other like the dīvān-i-vizārat and the dīvān-i-'arz of the Delhī sultanate. The organization of military and imperial service on one uniform mansabdārī system made both the ministers jointly responsible for the efficient working of both the premier departments of the state.

The chief dīvān enjoyed a little higher status in the routine work of the administration. The mīr

bakhshī, on the other hand, was given additional influence at the central government by his darbār duties. The position of the chief dīvān (or vazīr) was further affected by depriving him of his judicial powers, usually associated with the office of the first vazīr of the Muslim monarchies. Thus both remained the heads of their own departments working together through defined and well-laid channels, and answerable only to the king.

The mīr sāmān

The third minister, the mīr sāmān, by the nature of his duties and routine could be expected to occupy the position of amīr-i-hājib of Ibn-i-Khaldūn or the vakīl-i-dar and bār bak of the Delhī sultanate, but his sphere of influence was curtailed, first by assigning the darbār duties to the mīr bakhshī; secondly by the creation of the post of the dārogha of the ghusal khāna, through whose hands passed all the important and confidential work of the private chamber; and thirdly, by giving an unusually high status to the dīvān of his department. He shared equal power with him in the department and his importance can be judged from the examples of several dīvān-i-buyūtāt going direct to the chief vizārat, namely, Muzzaffar Khān, Muqīm and Ghiyās Beg I'timād-ud-Daula. Thus the mīr sāmān failed to get that power or wield such influence as could make him the chief officer of the dargāh or the darbār. However, he enjoyed equal status with other ministers and equal influence at the court by his presence near the king like the mīr bakhshī.

Thus the duties of the vakīl-i-dar and bār bak of Delhī, the hājib-i-buzurg[1] of the Sāmānids and of sāhib-al-shurat[2] (captain of the guard) of the

[1] Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 227. One of the first dignitaries in the kingdom.

[2] Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 228. Second in rank at the dargāh. Nizām-ul-Mulk, *Sīyāsat Nāma* p. 81, attributes the household duties of the kitchen, etc., to the vakīl-i-dar. He should not be confused with

Abbāsides, who in their own kingdoms dominated the court, were divided between the mīr bakhshī and the mīr sāmān.

The creation of the post of the dārogha of the ghusal khāna, who acted as a private secretary to the king in the private chamber, and of the post of 'arz-i-mukarrar, who had the duty of revising royal orders and presenting them a second time for the king's sanction, and the placing of both these officers directly under the king and appointing trusted persons known to him, further created a check upon all the first three ministers, who by the nature and importance of their duties remained near the king.

The dārogha of the ghusal khāna, the 'arz-i-mukarrar and the musavvada navīs (officer in charge of the draft of farmāns), divided among themselves the duties of the dabīr of other Muslim monarchies, and these officers enjoyed the respect which is attributed to that office in the *Chahār Maqāla*.[1]

The sadr was the fourth minister. His immense power of influencing the Muslim section of the population was shaken by Akbar and his activities in that direction were limited by the general policy of toleration towards all non-Muslims. His powers, from the administrative point of view, were curtailed first by the internal arrangements of the administrative machinery by which all grants of lands made by the sadr passed through the hands of all other ministers; secondly, by restrictions imposed on the use of the power of making such grants; and thirdly by the creation of provincial sadrs. Though Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān were favourably inclined towards their sadrs, no change was effected in the policy chalked out by Akbar. The sadr

the vakīl of the Mughals. It may also be pointed out that the military command of the town usually associated with sāhib-al-shurat was given to a separate officer under the Mughals.

[1] pp. 12–25 (Persian Text, Gibb Memorial Series).

The sadr remained the head of the judiciary also, but his power in this sphere appears to have substantially suffered by the personal attention of the king to judicial cases and his holding weekly courts regularly for that purpose. The sadrs lost much of their influence in all spheres of their activities, and they were never able to enjoy the power, honour and prestige which the Muslim jurists recommended for their office. Whatever respect they had was personal, and hence each one of them received it in proportion to his worth, capacity, and efficiency.

Thus the powers of the dominating and all-powerful vazīr of the Muslim jurists were divided among four ministers of equal rank and status; and a system was established in which all four ministers enjoyed independence in their respective departments and yet came in contact with each other on several points. In such an arrangement there was neither the possibility of passing the entire power into the hands of one of them, nor the question of any one dominating the rest.

The relative position of ministers

The vakīl, whenever one existed, occupied the highest rank and the first position in the state. Though at times there were cases in which others also occupied an equal grade in salary with the vakīl, none held a higher rank than him at any time.

Among the four permanent ministers, the dīvān decidedly enjoyed the highest status in the administration, but not always the highest salary. There are cases in which a chief dīvān started at the rank of 1,500 or 2,000 zāt while other officers held the rank of 6,000, or even 7,000. The rank in all services was personal, and no salary was fixed for any post. Hence the distinction of the chief dīvān in the administration was of his office and not of his personal rank and grade in service. This system of appointing the chief minister from any rank of service and not giving him the highest salary even

after his rise to the highest office, further created a check upon his influence, and prevented him from becoming the first man in the state by virtue of his office and personal troops, the strength of which depended upon his personal rank.

The mīr bakhshī was next to the chief dīvān in status. Bernier says that he occupied the second or the third position, while Lāhorī, in connexion with Sa'dulla Khān's appointment to the office of the mīr sāmān, says that it was the post next to the chief vizārat (dar rutba talo pāya-i-garān māya-i-vizārat ast.)[1] Abul Fazl has placed the mīr bakhshī next to the dīvān, but he has not included the mīr sāmān at all in the list of ministers. The reason for this omission has been noted in its proper place. I am inclined to think that the mīr bakhshī, by the nature of his work and influence, decidedly occupied the second position among his colleagues. Lāhorī's words can be interpreted to mean that the holder of the office could reach the chief vizārat direct, as several mīr sāmāns, including Sa'dulla Khān, did reach it, and so did mīr bakhshīs.

Thus the mīr sāmān was the third and the sadr, without any doubt, the fourth among the ministers, and there is only one case of Mīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī, under Akbar, becoming the chief dīvān from sadārat.

As mentioned in Chapter VII, the dīvān-i-buyūtāt also reached the chief vizārat direct, though he was by no means included among the ministers, and there is the solitary example of Rāī Rāyān, under Shāh Jahān, becoming a permanent dīvān-i-kul from a subordinate post in the same department.

Checks on ministers' powers

The system of balancing power did not stop with its division among the four ministers. Akbar appears to have carried it much further during the process of the development of his institutions. At times, the

[1] Lāhorī, II, p. 347.

supervision of administrative affairs was entrusted to officers attached to the court not holding any post in any of the departments of the central government.

(1) Officers at the court associated with state work

It has been noted in Chapter V that Hakīm Abul Fatah and Zīn Khān Koka were, at one time, ordered to sit in the dīvān's office and keep themselves informed of its affairs.

In the twenty-seventh year of the reign, several prominent officers were entrusted with the supervision of markets, and various articles for sale were placed under them.[1] In the twenty-eighth year the general supervision of certain branches of administration was also placed under prominent persons, including princes.[2] In the thirty-sixth year[3] khālsa lands were divided into four divisions and placed under four different persons. In the thirty-ninth year, Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī was sent to Kashmīr to make suitable awards of jāgīrs to officers, although he had no connexion with the dīvān's department at that time.[4] In the fortieth year the Empire was divided into five circles to suppress the realization of the prohibited tax of tamgha,[5] and each circle was placed under one such officer. The king himself took charge of one circle. Similarly four circles were formed for the suppression of the bāj tax.[6]

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 396. Mirzā Khān looked to horses, Rāja Bīrbal to cows, Abul Fazl to woollen goods and so on. The supervisors received a commission of a half per cent from the purchaser and one per cent from the seller.

[2] *A.N.*, III, p. 404. Jahāngīr had the supervision of punishments, rewards, marriage and birth ceremonies. In such cases there was more than one person in each branch.

[3] *A.N.*, III, p. 605. Abul Fazl says 'though Qulīj Khān (dīvān) worked well yet by reason of the vastness of the country the measure was a far-sighted one'.

[4] *A.N.*, III, p. 661.

[5] *A.N.*, III, p. 670.

[6] *A.N.*, III, p. 801, forty-sixth year. In certain cases ministers were also included.

Another check upon the powers of the ministers was the opening of king's councils to other officers and nobles. There appear to be three kinds of councils (majlis)—(1) those in which departmental affairs were discussed; (2) in which all important political and military matters apart from purely administrative affairs were discussed; and (3) in which topics of general and academic interest were discussed in the presence of the king.

(2) Councils not limited to ministers

As for departmental matters, the practice appears to have been more popular under Akbar than under his successors. As his was the period of the development of all institutions such counsels must have been considered necessary. Later on, when regulations were framed and traditions established such affairs must have been conducted by the minister concerned in consultation with the king. Hence there are no references to such counsels under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Even in the alterations made in the mansabdārī system under Sa'dulla Khān, there is no mention of any council being held for the purpose. Even under Akbar such councils were limited to ministers as heads of departments only. Such cases have been noticed in Chapter V.

The second kind of councils was popular under all three monarchs and references to them are found in each reign. Monserrate[1] had mentioned councils of war held by Akbar during his stay, when Akbar was marching against his brother Hakīm Mirzā. Abul Fazl has recorded several meetings of this nature. The invasion of Gujrāt was discussed in the seventeenth year[2] and the Bengāl situation in the nineteenth year, when Rājā Bhagvant Dās, Bīr Bar, Todar Mal, Lashkar Khān and Shahbāz Khān took prominent parts in the discussion. In all such cases the king presided. Abul Fazl has recorded

[1] p. 213. [2] *A.N.*, III, p. 4.

the detailed proceedings of a meeting in which Mirzā Hakīm's letter for peace was discussed. In this case Akbar did not attend the meeting, and Abul Fazl was deputed to open the discussion and report the opinions of each. Everyone spoke in favour of accepting peace and against marching upon Kābul, while Abul Fazl put forward his own arguments in favour of an immediate march. They could not come to an agreement and it was decided that each should speak to the king individually. Akbar did not agree with them. The march upon Kābul was ordered and the results justified his action.[1]

Method of deliberation

As to the method of discussion in these meetings, Monserrate says: 'He (the king) asks each counsellor privately for his own opinion, and then himself decides upon the course which seems to be supported by the largest number and the most experienced. He asks their advice even about subjects upon which he has already made up his mind, saying to the nobles, "This is what I think should be done. Do you agree?" They reply "Salaam, O king." Whereupon he says, "Then let it be carried out." If, however, any of them does not agree with him, he listens patiently and sometimes even alters his own opinion.'[2]

Similar references are found under Jahāngīr but mostly they concern the wars in the Deccan, and they have been referred to in the account of the dīvāns of that reign. Under Shāh Jahān the flight of Khān-i-Ā'Zam Lodī, who rebelled against him in the first year of the reign, was discussed in the same manner and negotiations were carried on with him through Āsaf Khān.

The most conspicuous case of a political nature is that of Mirzā 'Azīz Koka, who had opposed Jahāngīr's accession to the throne. After some time, he

[1] *A.N.*, III, pp. 357–8, twenty-sixth year of the reign.

[2] Monserrate, *Commentary*, pp. 203–4.

quarrelled with Jahāngīr's vakīl, Amīr-ul-Umarā, during the course of a meeting in which the king was present. Jahāngīr was displeased at his conduct, left the meeting, and held a consultation with the chief officers at the court. It appears that the same procedure of speaking one after the other in accordance with rank was used under him as well. Amīr-ul-Umarā said, 'There is nothing which can admit of delay in putting him to death.' Mahābat Khān, in his turn, said, 'I am a soldier. I have no right to give any opinion in a council. I have got strength to use the sword. If I do not cut him into two in one stroke (if ordered), you can cut off my hands.' Khān Jahān Ladī said, 'I feel surprised at his fortune; wherever your Majesty's name has reached, his name has also travelled there. Apparently he has done nothing for which he can be capitally punished. If he is put to death he will be talked of as mazlūm (a victim of oppression) and his name will be on the lips of the people of the world.' These words somewhat lessened the wrath of Jahāngīr, and in the meantime his stepmother, Salīma Begam, arrived and said from behind the curtain: 'All the begams have assembled together to speak to you for Mirzā Koka. If you come into the female apartments to meet them, it will be proper, otherwise we shall all come out to you.' Jahāngīr thus became helpless, went in to meet them, accepted their recommendation and forgave the Mirzā.[1]

This case coupled with several others of the same nature reveals that (1) all such important matters were discussed in a council; (2) the councils were not limited to ministers of the state; (3) everyone spoke there turn by turn in accordance with his rank and position; (4) the king usually presided; (5) discussions were frank and opinions were expressed freely; (6) the decision rested with the king and

[1] *M.U.*, I, pp. 686–7.

though it was not made on the views of the majority, free discussion did certainly affect the views of the king.

The same procedure was followed in the third kind of councils. Sometimes very useful suggestions were made in them. On one occasion when Akbar asked all those present to suggest any measure of reform which they thought necessary, everyone made suggestions according to his own views. Prince Salīm suggested early marriages be stopped. Khān-i-Ā'Zam Koka recommended the provincial governors be deprived of the power of inflicting capital punishment. Rāja Todar Mal desired to have charities distributed every day at the palace; and every week, month or year, the officers should be ordered to do the same on their own account. Rāja Bīrbar suggested the appointment of inspectors in various places to report impartially about the condition of the oppressed, and seekers of justice. Qāsim Khān recommended the building of serāis for travellers on all routes of the Empire. Faīzī suggested the fixing of market prices of various articles. Hakīm Abul Fatah desired the establishment of hospitals, and Abul Fazl the taking of a census in every city and town and recording the name and trade of all the inhabitants, house by house: he wished to keep an eye upon the income and expenditure of everyone, and watch the mischievous ones. Under Shāh Jahān the case of the governor of a province who had a bad reputation for his severity was talked of, but the name was not mentioned; and Shāh Jahān expressed his opinion about the use of leniency and severity in administrative affairs. But in these meetings matters of general and academic interest were more frequently discussed than administrative matters.

These meetings were made possible by the presence of a set of nobles and officers of all grades who were required to stay at the court

for some time. On the one hand, such councils and meetings acted as a check upon the powers of the ministers, and on the other enabled the king to utilize the brains and experience of many of his capable officers.

The last and the greatest check was the king himself, whose presence in the court, in councils, on tours and expeditions, and his vigilance over all the activities of the state, at times held together the most discordant elements, and utilized them to the utmost possible advantage of the Empire. (3) The vigilance of the king

PART III

CHAPTER X

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

OUTLINE

The position of subjects in an Islāmic state. Division into believers and non-believers. No political status for the latter.

The king required to rule according to Shara'—uphold the dignity of Islām—to keep non-believers humiliated.

The impossibility of ruling India on such lines felt and confessed by the sultāns of Delhī; remarks of Balban and Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī.

But Islāmic law makes both believers and non-believers equal before law and impartial justice the right of both.

Islāmic law in the judicial system and its scope in Northern India.

The organization of the judicial system in an Islāmic state; the two agencies—the king and the chief qāzī. The chief qāzī—his appointment by the king—his powers. The qāzī-i-'askar—his position before the chief qāzī.

The king's right to appoint two qāzīs in a city.

The duties of the qāzī.

Procedure in court—plaint—evidence—witnesses, etc.

Muftīs—not necessary in all cases.

Muhtasib—his duties (Al-Māvardī).

The Mughal system based entirely on the same model. The king—the chief qāzī—the two judges—qāzī and mīr 'adl in every city—muftī—muhtasib.

The qāzīs under the Mughals not limited to cities only—appointed in smaller units as well.

The king and justice—minor cases tried every day in the darbār—time allotted—important cases once a week—a day exclusively reserved for administering justice.

Routine maintained on tours. The nature of the cases brought before the king—more criminal cases than civil.

Appeal—no fixed rules.

Impartiality and stern justice—cases cited. Views of Monserrate and Rogers.

The Administration of Criminal Justice

Separation of the executive and the judiciary not adhered to.

Powers of provincial governors and dīvāns.

Punishments—four kinds in Islāmic law.

Offences punishable with death.

Twenty-five cases collected from the chronicles of the period analysed.

Executions.

Other punishments.

Cases of royal wrath.

Imprisonment—principles underlying punishment not carried into practice—an instrument of oppression in the hands of the executive—no satisfactory arrangements. Royal tours the greatest source of relief to prisoners. Cases cited.

Review of the system

THE duties of a Muslim king in an Islāmic state which require him to rule in accordance with the Qurānic law and to enforce Shara' in his kingdom have been noticed in Chapter VIII. It is not possible here to enter into any discussion on the Islāmic theory of the State or to describe in detail its legal system. However, it may be noted that Islāmic law divides the subjects under a Muslim king into two sections, believers and non-believers, and imposes a duty upon the king to see that believers live as true Muslims and non-believers remain in the position allotted to them as zimmīs, a position which denies them equal status with Muslim subjects, but guarantees security of life and property and the continuance of their religion and religious practices under certain defined conditions.[1]

Thus a Muslim king besides performing the ordinary duties connected with his office, has also to uphold the dignity of his religion through defined channels and to rule according to Islāmic law.

The impossibility of ruling India on these lines was felt as early as the thirteenth century. Balban, who was the first Muslim king to deal with Indian problems and Indian people seriously, after the work of conquest was accomplished by his patron Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, clearly confessed it.[2] Later

[1] These distinctions, respective positions and rights of believers and non-believers have been very lucidly summarized in *Sulūk-ul-Mulūk*, Fs. 105–13.

[2] Barnī, pp. 70–79, in the advice given to his son Sultān Muhammad. The thanksgiving of the gift of kingship consists in seeing that 'not a single kāfir in his knowledge or by his consent gets any superiority over a believer nor is able to practise shirk and kufr (idolatry, etc.), boldly and fearlessly'. This he regarded as ideal kingship but unattainable by him in Hindustān.

when his son, Bughra Khān, advised his son, Sultān Kaiqubād, on the duties of a king, he made no mention of such duties at all.[1] Jalāl-ud-dīn in a remark to his chief advisor, Ahmad Chap, who always criticized him for his leniency, expressed a feeling of shame at his inability to rule as a Muslim monarch. He said: 'Every day Hindūs, who are the deadliest enemies of Islām, pass by my palace beating drums and trumpets and go out to the Jamnā and practise idolatry openly . . . and we call ourselves Muslims and are called Muslim rulers.' Further he says: 'Shame be on us, on our Pādshāhī, and on our championship and protection of our religion (dīn parvarī, and dīn panāhī) that we allow our name to be read every Friday from the pulpit and the enemies of God and of the religion of the Prophet to pass their lives in a thousand comforts, enjoy wealth and other blessings and live honourably among Muslims with all pride and glory and practise idolatry openly and give currency to their practices of kufr and shirk in our capital, under our rule and before our eyes. May dust (i.e. destruction) fall on our heads and on our Pādshāhī.'[2]

Such was the clear confession which Jalāl-ud-dīn made as a king, and later no effort to rule on strict Islāmic lines was made even by the Delhī sultans.

The second aspect of the Islāmic system which guarantees peace and security of life and property to non-believers includes impartial justice, and this aspect of kingship was emphasized by Balban as well as by Bughrā Khān. It is also emphasized by Muslim jurists, and in matters of justice they treat both sections of subjects as equal in the law's eye. 'Justice and Beneficence must be exercised alike for

[1] Barnī, p. 151. He simply emphasized the essential of the second grade kingship as described by Balban in the advice noted above.

[2] Barnī, p. 217. He ridiculed the idea of Ahmad Chap regarding him as a Muslim king like Mahmūd Ghaznī.

all subjects (jamī'ri'āyā). The king is the shadow of God and the gift of Divine mercy is common to both believers and non-believers (kāfir o mu'min).'[1] A king must curtail the hand of oppression (zulm) upon the weak because the prophet says, 'the cry of a victim of injustice even if he be a kāfir is never rejected by God.'[2]

Law

It was in the administration of justice that the sultāns of Delhī maintained Islāmic law and, as far as the available material is concerned, the same can be said about the Mughals. There may have been cases in which Islāmic law must have been set aside under Akbar, but such occurrences must be few and their scope limited because his policy in this sphere does not appear to have in any way affected the Muslim judicial system as laid down by Muslim jurists. The law of inheritance, marriage and divorce, are so closely related to the religious beliefs and faith of Muslims that they could not be altered or amended in any form. Hence civil law admitted no scope for any change and it remains substantially the same even today in British India.

The law of evidence and criminal law could at times be departed from and Akbar emphasized, on more than one occasion, that the qāzīs should not exclusively rely upon the evidence of witnesses, and recourse should be had to other sources of verifying the truth of the case, and his immediate successors appear to have accepted the same principle in practice if not in theory. Similarly, there are criminal cases on record which will be noticed in the following pages in which punishments were not awarded strictly according to Islāmic law.

Scope

Islāmic law applied to Muslims in all civil cases. Criminal law was the same both for the Hindūs

[1] *Ādab-i-Saltanat*, F. 14.

[2] *A.N.*, III, p. 257, and p. 477, and p. 722. Advice to Qāsim Beg Tabrezī Mīr 'Adl-i-Urdū (army).

and Muslims. Similarly the Muslim law of evidence and contract applied to the Hindūs as well. In cases of inheritance, marriage and the like, Hindū law also admitted no scope for any modification.

The scope of Islāmic law was further limited by leaving the ancient village organization with all its Hindū institutions intact. It was the result of the policy of toleration, and non-interference in social institutions to which people in that economic stage of life cling.[1] Mukerjī says that according to Hindū political thinkers, 'the king's officers must live outside the village' and under the Hindū rule 'they did not ordinarily interfere with the administration of local affairs excepting when their counsel was invited'.

Accordingly no effort was made by the Mughals to disturb the corporate life of the villages or encroach upon their ancient institutions or to bring them in line with other centralizing agencies; as a result of this they retained their autonomy and 'throughout the country the village assemblies are still administering village affairs, finance, and justice. Neither Mauryan bureaucracy nor Muhammadan inroads, neither the centralized administration of Akbar or of Aurangzeb, nor the British ryotwari or permanent settlement, have obliterated the traditional rights of the village communities as described in the *Arthasastra* . . .'[2]

The villages—over seventy per cent of the population—being excluded, the state responsibility for administering justice was limited to the larger units of government: parganas (or qasbāt), sarkārs (districts) and provincial headquarters (baldāt).

In these areas civil cases of the Hindūs affecting inheritance, etc., as noted above, were decided according to Hindū religious law and by Hindū pandits. Badā'ūnī has pointed out that Akbar

[1] Baden-Powell, *The Tribe and the Village*, p. 225.
[2] Mukerjī, *Democracies in the East*, p. 207.

ordered that the cases of the Hindūs should be decided by Hindū judges and not by the qāzīs.[1] This order, in my opinion, refers to such cases only and does not cover all civil cases in which both the parties were Hindūs. There are scattered cases of contracts in the records of the period in which both the parties were Hindūs and they were decided by the mīr 'adl, or referred to the king. Similarly, the cases in which one party was Muslim and the other non-Muslim were also tried by the judges of the State.

In this connexion Father Monserrate's remark that 'Brachmanae (Brahmans) govern liberally, through a senate and a council of the common people . . .' applies to the administration of justice, both civil and criminal, in the villages, and not to other units of the Empire.[2]

The organization

The organization of the judicial system of the Mughals was entirely the same as laid down by Muslim jurists and established in Northern India by the sultāns of Delhī.

Though the Muslim jurists differ as to the right of the king to administer justice without a qāzī, they agree that the king has a right to administer justice personally; but, as the administration of justice according to law requires a technical knowledge of the subject, it is his duty to appoint one of the best ulamā of the age to this post. The office thus becoming unavoidable, they also suggest that there should be a body of ulamā capable of giving fatvah on legal points, and the most capable of them should be selected for the office of the chief qāzī.

In this manner they establish two agencies for the administration of justice—the king and the chief qāzī.

The chief qāzī

The king should appoint the one with whom he is personally acquainted and who, in his opinion, is the

[1] Badā'ūnī, II, p. 356.
[2] Monserrate, p. 219.

best available person for the office. If the candidate is not personally known to him, his knowledge and learning should be tested by a body of the learned, and his conduct inquired from his neighbours.

His appointment

The post should be offered by the king, and should not be applied for (sazā vār nīst kasai ke talab-i-qazā kunad).

The king has a right to depose a qāzī, because the one who has a right to appoint him possesses also the power to depose him. A certain group of Muslim jurists favours the appointment of a qāzī for a limited period only, and some appear to regard one year at a time as sufficient for him so that he might not neglect his studies of the subject (zī rā ke 'ilm rā farāmosh na kunad).

His powers

When a chief qāzī has been appointed for the State, he, by virtue of his office, is considered to possess the right of appointing the subordinate qāzīs for the dominions, and the jurists think that when the king had said, 'I appointed you qāzī' (turā qāzī sākhtam), he acquired all the rights attached to the office. This view is opposed by Al-Māvardī, who thinks that he does not acquire those rights unless the king says, 'Qāzī sākhtam turā bar har kas va dar hama vāqi'āt' (I appointed you qāzī over all and for all matters).

The king has no right to interfere in the judicial powers of the qāzī. If the king orders him not to proceed to take evidence in a particular case, or asks him to postpone a case till he (the king) returns to the capital from his journey, the order is neither valid nor binding upon the qāzī. Similarly, if a case has been tried and judgement passed by the qāzī in accordance with the law and it is just, and the king orders him to open it again, the order is not valid.

The qāzī-i-'askar

The king has a right to appoint a separate qāzī for the army (qāzī-i-'askar), but his jurisdiction is

limited to the area defined for him. In a case in which one party resides in the jurisdiction of the qāzī-i-'askar and the other in that of the qāzī of the city, and the latter insists on having the case tried in the city court, the qāzī of the army cannot try it unless he has been specially empowered to try all such cases in which one party belongs to his area of jurisdiction. On the other hand, if both parties belong to the 'askar and they want to take their case to the city court, they can do so, and the qāzī of the city has power to entertain it (zī rā ke vilāyat ū 'ām ast).

More than one qāzī in the city

The king has a right to appoint more than one qāzī in a city, but in that case their work must be defined.

The duties of the qāzī

The qāzī after his appointment to the post should take charge of all the papers in the possession of the former qāzī whether they belong to the government or to the parties of the pending cases. He should also take charge of the register of judgements (kitāb-i-hukm).

The qāzī, besides being the judge, is also the trustee of all auqāfs in his jurisdiction.

On his appointment, he should visit the jails and review the condition of prisoners, inquire into their condition and individual cases. If he thinks any of them deserving of freedom, he can discharge them, but he should weigh the evidence properly before taking such action and not be hasty.

Procedure in the court

He should hold the court in an open place and preferably in a mosque,[1] so that the poor may have free access to him, but there is no harm if he holds the court at his house, provided people are freely admitted.

He should have kātibs (writers) with him to record

[1] According to Barnī, under 'Alā-ud-dīn Khāljī the qāzīs held courts in mosques, but under the Mughals they held them in government buildings and were prohibited from holding them at their own residences.

evidence in the court, and interpreters in case he does not know the language of any party or witness.

The parties appearing in the court have equal status in the eye of the law, hence the qāzī should make them sit together at the same place and make no distinction in the arrangement, even if the king be a party in a case before him.[1]

When a plaintiff comes to the court without a written plaint the qāzī should send him to the kātib, who will record his statement with necessary detail in a prescribed form and summon the defendant.

When both parties appear and the plaint is put before the qāzī he will examine it, and if it is valid and in order, he will proceed with the case; and otherwise reject it.

While the case proceeds the qāzī shall remain silent and listen attentively to the plaintiff. The qāzī or the kātib will record the statement, in which not a word will be added to what is stated. He will then address the defendant in the words 'da'vā karda bar tū īn khasam ham chunīn cho mī goī-tū pas iqrār kuned yā inkār' (such and such a charge has been brought against thee by this opponent. What hast thou to say to it? Confess it or deny it). He will record his answer (iqrār yā inkār) and if the defendant denies the charge, will record the statement given by him in his defence. When the statements of both parties are thus recorded, he will address the plaintiff (tū ham chunīn da'vā kardaī) and the defendant (tū hamchumīn guftaī), and when both of them testify to the correctness of their recorded statements, he will examine the papers. If a judgement can be passed, he will do it at once, and if the case is not proved he will ask the plaintiff to produce (bayyinat) evidence in support

[1] *Sulūk-ul-Mulūk*, F. 30. (There is no case of a king appearing in court under the Mughals.)

of his plaint which will be in accordance with the law of evidence.

When a witness comes to give evidence the qāzī will not direct him in any way. When the proceeding is thus over, he will pass judgement in accordance with Shara'.

If the case is decided against the defendant, he will order him to make recompense, but not send him to jail for non-payment unless so requested by the plaintiff, and none will be put under arrest for non-payment unless two witnesses give evidence of his capacity to pay (gavāhī na dihand bar ghinā-ī-ū).

Muftī

The existence of a muftī does not appear to be compulsory. If the qāzī is capable and qualified to give fatvah, he can decide the case himself, otherwise he will refer the case to the muftī and ask fatvah from him.

Muhtasib

The Islāmic state included a muhtasib also who, besides his police duties of examining weights, measures and provisions and preventing gambling and drinking, performed the duties of a religious censor. The duties defined by Al-Māvardī give an idea of the scope of his activities.

1. He was to see that Muslims offered their prayers, kept fasts in the month of Ramazān and abstained from drinking, etc.

2. It was his duty to stop begging in the streets and to forbid a beggar from begging if he possessed means of livelihood.

3. He was to examine the credentials of a physician and to stop him from practising if he was not qualified or worthy.

4. He was required to supervise the condition of slaves and to see that they were not harshly treated by their masters.

5. He was required to see that, when leaving the shore, boats were not loaded beyond capacity.

In stormy weather he did not allow boats to leave the shore as it would endanger the safety of passengers.

6. It was also a part of his duty to see that no building was erected on a public thoroughfare, and if one was erected which obstructed the way he should order it to be demolished even if it were a mosque (agarche ān binā-i-masjid bāshad).[1]

The Mughal system on the same model

The Mughal organization proceeded entirely on these lines. The king appointed the chief qāzī (i.e. sadr) who possessed the powers of a judge. The sadr had the power of appointing subordinate qāzīs in the dominions, though the king's sanction was necessary in all such appointments. The king also exercised his power to appoint more than one judge in a city, and their duties were accordingly defined. These were the qāzīs and the mīr 'adls. In all big cities and towns the two existed side by side.

The king also appointed a qāzī-i-'askar and the mīr 'adl followed him as well. Similarly, the muftīs were not appointed in every case and there is no reference to them at all in smaller units of the government. The muhtasib, with all his duties of police and religious censorship, existed both at the capital and in the provinces,[2] but he was concerned neither with roads nor with boats and ships and the safety of their passengers as under Al-Māvardī.

Qāzīs not limited to cities only

It is generally believed that the qāzīs were limited to the capital, provincial headquarters and other big towns, but the scattered facts of the period conclusively show that they were appointed in smaller units, qasbāt and parganas, as well, the villages, of course, being excluded. Abul Fazl is

[1] This portion of the chapter is based on Al-Māvardī, Hedāya and *Sulūk ul Mulūk* (a MS. which summarizes the views of all prominent Muslim jurists on the point) Fs. 26–41.

[2] *Mirāt*, F. 425b. 'Muhtasib-i-balda va Qasbāt'—appointed through the chief sadr.

altogether silent on this point. There are only two references in the *Ā'īn* about judicial officers. In connexion with the position of the sadr under Sayūrghāl, he says, 'The qāzī and the mīr 'adl are under his orders',[1] and in the classification of the officers of the state in several groups, he mentions the term mīr dād, who should be 'free from avarice and selfishness, who sits on the eminence of circumspection and insight, and obtains his end by putting various questions, without exclusively relying on witnesses and oaths'.[2]

The author of the *Mi'rāt* is very definite. He says: 'The qāzīs of the sūba and of qasbāt are appointed through the chief sadr and take charge of their duties on the basis of the sanad of the court through the provincial sadr. . . . The qāzīs get cash salaries (rozīna) and hold madad-i-ma'āsh lands conditional upon service.'[3] Besides this authority, which is the best possible one on provincial matters, the financial accounts forwarded by each pargana to the central government included a permanent item of in'ām for the local qāzīs which was given to them on Muslim 'Īd festivals[4] and the current rates of market prices of each pargana received at the capital were certified by them.[5]

However, the existence of the mīr 'adl in the qasbāt or parganas is not traceable, and, having regard to the economic conditions and the organization of society in those days in which there was not much scope for litigation, there is reason to believe that they did not exist there at all.

The king and justice

The second agency for the administration of justice was the court of the king. The Mughal emperors utilized to the utmost the sanction given by Muslim jurists to kings to try judicial cases

[1] *Ā'īn*, p. 198. Bev., p. 258. [2] *Ā'īn*, p. 5. Bev., p. ix.
[3] *Mir'āt*, F. 425. [4] MS. Add. 6,588, F. 89a.
[5] MS. Add. 6,599, F. 196.

themselves. The access which they gave to the poorest of their subjects and the extent to which that access practically existed has been noted in Chapter II.

It appears that ordinary cases were attended to by the king in the open darbār every day, and important cases requiring the evidence of witnesses and their cross-examination were attended to by him on the day in the week fixed exclusively for the administration of justice. It has been noted in the second chapter that Akbar had reserved Thursday, Jahāngīr Tuesday, and Shāh Jahān Wednesday for this purpose. Abul Fazl says about Akbar: 'He opens the gates of justice and holds an open court. In the investigation into the cases of the oppressed, he places no reliance on testimony or on oaths, which are the resource of the crafty, but draws his conclusion from the contradictions in the narratives, the physiognomy, and from sublime researches and noble conjectures. Truth takes her place in this centre. In this work he spends not less than 1½ pahars' (i.e. about 4½ hours).[1] Hawkins says the same about Jahāngīr: 'The king heareth all causes in this place and stayeth some two hours every day (these kings of India sit daily in justice every day).'[2] De Laet makes a mention of weekly courts of Jahāngīr. 'Once a week (on Tuesday) he takes his seat on the tribunal and hears patiently all causes that are brought before him, both civil and criminal, and pronounces a judgement on each which is final.'[3] According to Lāhorī, Shāh Jahān retired on Wednesday from the jharoka-i-darshan to the daulat k͟hāna-i-k͟hās, and on that day none was admitted there except the officers of justice (mutassaddiyān-i-'adālat), theologians qualified to give fatvah (arbāb-i-fatvā), a few learned noted for their

[1] *A.N.*, III, p. 257. Bev., p. 373. [2] Hawkins, p. 116.
[3] De Laet, p. 93.

piety and integrity, and a few amīrs who always remained in attendance. The officers of justice presented the seekers of justice one by one, the king listened to them attentively, cross-examined them politely and passed judgement in accordance with the fatvah of the ulamā present there.[1] Later on Bernier witnessed the same at the Mughal court. 'All the petitions held up in the crowd assembled in the *Am-khas*[2] are brought to the king and read in his hearing, and the persons concerned being ordered to approach are examined by the Monarch himself, who often redresses on the spot the wrongs of the aggrieved party. . . . Nor does he fail to attend the justice-chamber, called *adalet kanay*, on another day of the week attended by the two principal *kadis* (or chief justices). It is evident therefore that barbarous as we are apt to consider the sovereigns of Asia, they are not always unmindful of the justice that is due to their subjects.'[3]

The continuity of the routine on tours

It may be observed that this arrangement was not disturbed when the king proceeded on military expeditions, pleasure trips or on tours to different provinces. Jahāngīr appears to have been most attentive to this duty and the cases dealt with by him during such trips are numerous. The arrangements he made at Ajmere and Ahmadābād for the purpose do credit to him and justify the intentions which he repeatedly expressed during the first and second periods of his reign. At Ahmadābād, where he found 'the people weak-hearted and meek', he selected a place for administering justice 'which had no impediment in the shape of gate, or wall, or watchmen (yasvāl) or macebearers (chohdārs)'. It was towards

[1] Lāhorī, I, p. 150.

[2] In the italicised words the spellings of the original are retained.

[3] Bernier, p. 263. He mentions one day more in the week when Aurangzebe devoted two hours 'to hear in private the petitions of ten persons selected from the lower orders. . . .'

the river. He says, 'I from the date on which I entered the city, notwithstanding the heat of the air, every day. . . . I sat there for two or three . . . hours and listened to the cries for redress, and ordered punishments on the oppressors according to their faults and crimes. Even in the time of weakness (due to illness) I have gone every day to the jharoka, though in great pain and . . . agony, according to my fixed custom (after midday prayers) and have looked on ease of body as something unlawful of me' (tan āsānī bar khud harāmdāshta).[1]

Bernier also speaks of the regularity of this routine of the Mughal emperors. 'The kings of *Hindustan* seldom fail, even when in the field, to hold this assembly twice during the twenty-four hours, the same as when in the capital. The custom is regarded as a matter of law and duty, and the observance of it rarely neglected.'[2] Shāh Jahān made similar arrangements during his tours in the Panjāb, Kashmīr, Kābul and at Peshāvar.

The nature of the cases before the king

The king tried both civil and criminal cases and he acted both as a court of first instance and a court of appeal. The cases on record scattered in the chronicles of the period show that the king received before him more criminal cases than civil, for which the explanation is quite simple. The nature of Hindū and Muhammadan civil law, as noted above, left little scope for civil cases reaching the court. Only intricate cases or those of unusual importance reached him for appeal or were forwarded by the qāzīs themselves. On the other hand there was

[1] *Tuzuk*, thirteenth year, p. 232. Tr. II, p. 14. The access to the king on this occasion can be judged from a case in which a gardener of the royal gardens approached the king and complained against a servant of the governor who had taken away some plants from the garden under his charge. The inquiry was made, the complaint found true, and both the thumbs of the accused were chopped off (p. 207).

[2] Bernier, p. 360. At the first of these justice was administered.

no such restriction in criminal cases, and on the whole the policy of all three monarchs was not to leave wide powers of punishment in the hands of the executive or judicial officers, and the regulations definitely required the sanction of the king for all capital punishments. Thus governors of provinces and even officers at the capital would not be inclined to take the risk of punishing with death or with amputation of limbs and would prefer to forward such cases to the king. This was the condition which Akbar established after the organization of the provinces, and which was maintained by his successors. This is the reason why European travellers under Jahāngīr witnessed such punishments every week at his court. De Laet says: 'Capital punishment is generally inflicted before his eyes and with great cruelty, whether in the capital city or wherever he is holding his court' (p. 93). Thus whether the accused appealed to the king or the trying magistrates and judges forwarded their cases to the king, the number of criminal cases would be much higher than civil. The question of expenses would also have the same result. The accused in a criminal case would be sent to the court together with all witnesses at State expense, while in a civil case the parties would bear their own expenses.

Appeal

There were no fixed rules and regulations for appeal nor were there different courts of various degrees to which cases would be taken against the judgements of the court of first instance. But as far as practice was concerned both the parties in a civil case had the right to take their case direct to the king or appeal to him against the judgement of the qāzī. Similarly, in a criminal case the accused possessed the right of appeal and the trying magistrate had the option to try it himself or forward it to the court at any stage of the trial.

The nature of the civil cases which were brought

before the king for trial or forwarded to him by the judges can be judged from the following few cases. In the fifteenth year of Jahāngīr's reign the qāzī and the mīr 'adl of Lāhore forwarded a case in which 'Abdulvahhāb, the son of Kakīm 'Alī, claimed Rs. 80,000 from the saiyids of Lāhore, and produced a bond with the seal of Qāzī Nurulla. He said that his father had placed that sum in deposit with Saiyid Valī, the father of these men, who denied it. The son of the hakīm, besides proving the case, was prepared to swear on oath on the *Qurān* (a procedure which was permissible under Islāmic law). Jahāngīr writes, 'I told them to do whatever was right by the Divine law. The next day Mu'tamid Khān represented that the saiyids showed great humility and submissiveness. The matter was a complicated one. The greater reflection given to ascertaining the truth in the matter the better. I accordingly ordered that Āsaf Khān should take exceeding trouble and forethought in ascertaining the truth of this quarrel, and point out such a way that no doubt whatever should remain, if it could not be cleared up, I would examine them in my own presence. Immediately he heard these words, the hakīm's son lost both his hands and his heart in the affair (i.e. became nervous) . . . and proposed a withdrawal.' The withdrawal was not accepted. He was forced to appear before Āsaf Khān for examination, and confessed that the deed had been prepared by one of his servants, who himself became a witness, and had misled him. He gave a written statement to this effect which was put before the king. 'When Āsaf Khān informed me of the real state of affairs, I took away his mansab and jāgīr and cast him out of my presence, and gave the saiyids leave to return to Lāhore in all honour and respect.'[1]

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 306. Tr. II, p. 158. (Jahāngīr was in Kashmīr.)

Shāh Jahān received a more complicated case of a peculiar nature in which two different persons claimed a boy as their own son. The case was tried and decided by the qāzī and the mīr 'adl on the basis of the evidence produced before them, but the person against whom the case was decided persisted in his declaration that the boy really belonged to him. Accordingly they forwarded the case to the king. He examined the evidence and found no reason to reverse the judgement. Accordingly to test them he passed a remark that the boy should be cut in half and divided among the claimants. The man in whose favour the case had been decided remained silent while the other trembled with fear and cried out, 'Do not cut the boy. I give up my claim.' Thus the truth came to light. The boy was handed over to him and further inquiry revealed that the boy really belonged to him.[1]

The collection of the letters of Muzzaffar Khān contains several letters from a mīr 'adl who wrote to him as a friend about important cases brought before him and orders received from the king. He mentions a very complicated civil case of contract and partnership in business in which both the parties were Hindūs of the caste of baqqāl. The case was taken directly to the king, and decided at the court, but the order was not executed because of difficulties created by the local officers of the pargana, and it appears that the matter was referred by them to the king. But while the case was pending the defendant, Harbans, died, and his sons Debī Chand and Rām Chand took possession of the property of the deceased on which the claim of the plaintiff was based. The mīr 'adl concerned appears to have been newly appointed, and he received orders from the court to attend to the matter and decide it without further delay. He examined the case, found it too

[1] Brahman, MS, Fs. 19b and 20a (pp. 32–33).

complicated and again forwarded it to the king with necessary information. He writes: 'The case is complicated and old and owing to the crafty nature of the baqqāls of the pargana (hīla sāzī-i-jamā'ā-i-baqqālān-i-qasba), who neither give out the truth nor try to settle disputes in any way, I find myself helpless. Hence I have sent both the parties to the court.'[1] A conspicuous feature of the legal system of the Mughals is stern justice, strict impartiality and equality of all before the law.

Impartiality and stern justice

Justice is a name to which every knee will bow. Equality is a word which many fear and detest. Yet the just was rightly declared by Aristotle to be a form of the equal. Hence impartiality in justice means two things:

1. Law is applied impartially: with accurate equality to all cases that fall within its definitions. The law may be good or bad. As judged by an ethical standard, the rule itself may be just or unjust; but in every case the rule is universal for the cases to which it applies. But equality before law goes further than this. It is not enough to administer law impartially as it exists.

2. The law itself must be the same for all without any distinction of caste or creed, rank or race. Professor Hobhouse says: 'Equality before the law as a modern understands it, means not

[1] MS. Add, 16,859, F. 42a and b. This collection includes several letters which give very useful information about such cases in which either both the parties were Hindūs or one Muslim and one Hindū. Apart from this distinction, they also give an idea of the nature of the cases. In one case two baqqāls sue a person for Rs. 20 (F. 43). In another one Sāhū Nand Rām complains that his agent, Raghūnāth Rāi, had dispatched gold thread cloth on camels from Ahmadābād to Lāhore. His servants were surprised by bandits on the way and cloth worth Rs. 1,000 was stolen. Hence he claims inquiry in the matter so that the bandits be brought to justice and the cloth returned to him. As the case happened in the jurisdiction of the said mīr 'adl, the complaint was made to him, and he remarks that the statement appears to be true (Fs. 61–62).

merely that the penalties attached to a case of homicide, whatever they may be, will be impartially enforced, but that the penalties will be the same whoever and whatever the slayer and the slain may be. It means equal protection of life and limb for everyone under the law, and equal penalties on everyone violating them.'[1]

The Mughal emperors can fairly claim to be impartial in justice according to the standard set above. Apart from theoretical references and the sayings of these emperors which are frequently found in the annals and emphasized by the chroniclers of the period, actual cases can be quoted in which impartial justice in the above sense was rendered by them in the period covered by this book. In the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Akbar a case was brought forward against the king's favourite governor and boyhood playmate Khān-i-Ā'Zam Mirzā 'Azīz Koka, who during his governorship of Gujrāt had arrested an 'Āmil 'Alā-ud-dīn for embezzlement and handed him over to one of his servants. This servant had a grudge against the 'āmil and he had him beaten to death. Khān-i-'Ā 'Zam punished his servant capitally for this offence and Abul Fazl says 'this act of justice he performed not at the request of anybody but from piety of God'. Thus the man who was guilty of the murder was brought to justice but the matter did not end there. When the father of the 'āmil came from Persia to seek redress the case was reopened and the king ordered it to be tried by the ordinary court of justice. The responsibility lay upon Khān-i-Ā'Zam to prove himself innocent in the matter. In the end he succeeded in settling the matter by paying a large sum as fine (khīnbahā) according to Shara' to the father of the murdered 'āmil. Hence Abul Fazl feels justified in remarking upon the occasion, 'His

[1] Hobhouse, *The Elements of Social Justice*, p. 103.

Majesty . . . in his court makes no difference between relative and stranger, and no distinction between a chief of chiefs and a tangle-haired beggar. . . .'[1]

Similarly, Akbar created a surprise in Gujrāt by punishing with death Jujhar Khān, one of the most powerful military chiefs of the late kingdom of Gujrāt, for the murder of one Changez Khān. The case was brought forward by the mother of the murdered man during Akbar's stay there. Inquiry was made, and the accused was found guilty and sentenced to death. It may be observed that it was done in the eighteenth year of the reign when the conquered province was not even properly subjugated. 'The old and deserted woman never imagined that so powerful a man would be punished for misdeeds and was astonished on beholding such justice. . . . General public ('umūm-i-khalā'iq) received enlightenment from this just sentence.'[2]

In the same manner when Jahāngīr heard about Sa'id Khān Chaghtāī, a prominent governor of Akbar's time, that his eunuchs oppressed and tyrannized over the weak and the poor, he sent him a message: 'My justice will not put up with oppression from anyone and in the scales of equity (mīzān-i-'adl) neither smallness nor greatness is regarded. If after this any cruelty or harshness should be observed on the part of your people, you will receive punishment without favour.' Sa'id Khān gave an undertaking in writing that if his people were oppressive, he would forfeit his head.[3] One or two governors under Jahāngīr were removed from office on similar charges.

A striking example of impartial justice is found in the case of Hūshang the brother's son (birādarzāda)

[1] *A.N.*, III, twenty-fourth year, p. 266. Bev., p. 387.

[2] *A.N.*, III, eighteenth year, p. 32. Bev., p. 46.

[3] *Tuzuk*, first year, p. 6. Tr. p. 13. *M.U.*, p. 405. Price, p. 16.

of Khān-i-Ā'lam the favourite amīr, who was charged with the murder of some insignificant person whose name does not even appear in the records of the period, and sentenced to death. Jahāngīr writes: 'Having summoned him to my presence, I investigated the charge, and after it was established, gave an order for his execution. God forbid that in such affairs I should consider princes, and far less that I should consider amīrs. I hope that the grace of God may support me in this' (Hāsha ke darīn umūr ri'āyat-i-khātir-i-shāhzāda na karda tā ba umarā va sāir bandahā che rasad).[1]

Father Monserrate witnessed the same impartiality at the court of Akbar, and he says: 'The king has the most precise regard for right and justice in the affairs of Government. In accordance with Mussalmān practice cases are decided by a double process before two judges. However, by the king's direction all capital cases, and all really important civil cases also, are conducted before himself. . . . By nature, moreover, he is kindly and benevolent, and is sincerely anxious that guilt should be punished, without malice indeed, but at the same time without undue leniency.'[2] Rogers forms the same opinion about Jahāngīr and, in his introduction to his Memoirs, he writes about him: 'It is a remark of Hallam's that the best attribute of Muhammadan princes is a rigorous justice in chastising the offences of others. Of this quality, Jahāngīr, in spite of all his weaknesses, had a large share and even to this day, he is spoken of with respect to Muhammadans on account of his love of justice.'[3]

Shāh Jahān's attention to justice is proverbial, like that of Jahāngīr, and this quality is very conspicuously brought out by every writer of his period. Besides the chroniclers, and Brahman, whose views

[1] *Tuzuk*, sixteenth year, p. 333. Tr., II, p. 211.
[2] p. 210. [3] p. 12.

have been noticed, another contemporary writer Sādiq Khān, summarizing the characteristics of his reign says that if an account of his justice is recorded, a separate volume will be needed for it.

The Administration of Criminal Justice

As far as the administration of criminal justice is concerned, the separation of the executive and the judiciary maintained in civil cases was not adhered to. According to the *Ā'īn* the governor possessed the power of inflicting even capital punishment, though in practice a great check was exercised on this power. Pelsaert's remark that the governor, the dīvān and the bakhshī sit together daily or four days in a week with the judges must refer to important criminal cases only.[1]

The regulations and the instructions sent to the provinces from time to time recorded in the *Mir'āt* show that the governor possessed a right of general supervision over the administration of criminal justice in his province. He himself sat in the court to try cases, and the district faujdārs sent him the accused arrested by them. It was his duty to inquire into the nature of the charges, to send those whose cases fell under Shara' for trial to the qāzī, to try political offences himself and to refer revenue cases to the dīvān.[2]

The kotvāl of the city was under the governor's direct supervision and was instructed about the offenders in the city brought before him either by his subordinates or by the complainants themselves.[3]

The governor was also directed to inspect the jails once a month and look into the condition of the prisoners, and was authorized to release those whom he considered innocent and to direct the qāzī to try pending cases of the accused in custody without delay.[4]

[1] p. 57. [2] *Mir'āt*, F. 104a. [3] *Mir'āt*, F. 104b. [4] *Mir'āt*, F. 104a.

His powers in such cases are clearly brought out in a case in which the qāzī of Ahmadābād was rebuked by Aurangzebe for setting at liberty some prisoners kept in custody by the order of the governor as disturbers of the peace (mufsidān). Orders were issued to the dīvān to see that such prisoners were not discharged: if a similar case happened in future he would be held responsible for it.[1]

Certain references under Aurangzebe show that the dīvāns of the provinces along with the governors were also required to keep an eye upon this branch of judicial administration, and in a farmān Khvāja Muhammad Hāshim, the dīvān of Ahmadābād, was directly addressed to look into the pending cases and take steps to avoid further delay; to act in the matter in consultation with the governor of the province, and to keep the court informed of all such affairs (paivasta haqāiq rā mī navishta bāshand va darīn bāb tākīd dānand).[2]

Thus like the king at the capital, the governor as his nāib exercised general supervision over the administration of criminal justice in the province and the dīvān acted as a check upon both the governor and the qāzī as he did in other provincial matters.[3]

Punishments

In punishments also the Mughals followed Islāmic law, and though all three kings departed from it in certain cases, it formed the chief basis for the judgements of the qāzīs and the magistrates.

Punishments in Islāmic law are of four kinds:

1. Qīsās, i.e. retaliation, applied in cases of killing and wounding which do not prove fatal.

[1] *Mir'āt*, F. 111b. [2] *Mir'āt*, F. 104.

[3] Aurangzebe's order to provincial officers shows that qāzīs held court four days in a week. Friday was a holiday, and on Wednesdays they were required to go to the governor's office where probably they sat with him for criminal cases. The court time was from sunrise till midday (Zuhar prayers about 1.0 p.m.). *Mir'āt.*

2. Diya or 'Akl, the blood writ or compensation paid by one who has committed homicide or has wounded another.

3. Hadd, i.e. an unalterable punishment prescribed by canon law, or the punishment exactly defined by the law which may neither be reduced nor augmented, e.g. (*a*) stoning or scourging for illicit intercourse; (*b*) scourging for falsely accusing a married woman of adultery; (*c*) cutting off hands for theft; and various punishments for robbery according to the circumstances.

4. Ta'zīr, the punishment inflicted by the judge according to his estimation. 'According to fikh ta'zīr is inflicted for such transgressions as have no hadd punishment and no kaffāra prescribed for them, whether it is a question of disobedience to God, such as the neglect of the fivefold salāt or of fasting, or a question of crime against man such as deceit, bearing false witness. . . .' It may include imprisonment, exile, corporal punishment, a reprimand or any other humiliating proceeding. The chief condition for the application is that the delinquent must be in possession of his mental faculties.[1]

The kind and the amount of punishment is left entirely to the discretion of the judge. The object of this kind of punishment being reformation, the degree of punishment varies with the individual. Some jurists classify the people into four classes according to social status and intellectual capacities, but others lay stress on the 'inner worth of the individual', his attitude to religion and his mode of life.

The process of trial is simple in contrast to that of hadd. It is inflicted on a confession, which however cannot be withdrawn, or on a statement of two

[1] This portion of this section is based on *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 132, 980; Vol. II, pp. 186, 1,038; and p. 710 (for Ta'zīr); and *Hedāya* (Hamilton) Book VII.

witnesses, one of whom may even be a woman. Some think the personal knowledge of the judge of the transgression is enough.

As far as qisās, i.e. capital punishment for murder, is concerned, Akbar and his immediate successors took particular care that the power of inflicting it should not pass unrestricted into the hands of the qāzīs and other magistrates. It was in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Akbar that a suggestion was made to him to take the power from the governors of the provinces, and a regulation was made requiring the king's sanction for execution of the sentence. This was maintained uniformly by Akbar's successors, and definite orders or references to it are found under each reign. According to Father Monserrate, even when Akbar himself acted as judge, the guilty, by his directions, were not punished until he gave orders for the third time.[1] De Laet's remark about Jahāngīr has been noted above.[2] Thevenot says: 'The king reserves that power to himself and therefore when any man deserves death, a courier is dispatched to know his pleasure, and they fail not to put his orders in execution so soon as the courier comes back.'[3] Lāhorī says the same about Shāh Jahān: 'If any one is found guilty and deserving of capital punishment in a province, the nāzim (governor) cannot take the courage to execute the sentence without obtaining the sanction of His Majesty.'[4]

[1] Monserrate, p. 209. He mentions particular cases also, pp. 209–11.

[2] De Laet, p. 93.

[3] Thevenot, III, p. 19.

[4] Father Monserrate witnessed the trial of Shāh Mansūr the dīvān for high treason and also of another officer for adultery. He describes the scene of the former case in the following words: 'The king ordered the officers of his bodyguard and those of the corps of executioners and a few prominent generals, together with Xamansurus (Mansūr) to halt at Baadum (the king was on his way to Kābul). He then told Abdulfasilius (Abul Fazl) to recite in the presence of these witnesses all the benefits

Offences punishable with death

According to *Hedāya*, there were only three such offences—apostacy, whoredom after marriage, and murder,[1] but Ziā Barnī in a conversation, being questioned by Sultān Muhammad Tughluq, enumerated seven offences (the first three being the same as noted above, which were allowed by God, and the other four: high treason, rebellion, aiding the king's enemies with men, arms or information, and such disobedience as might cause injury to the state), which kings thought necessary for the maintenance of peace and order, and which were included in the code of Jamshīd.[2]

I have been able to collect twenty-five cases of capital punishment tried and decided by the three Mughal emperors under discussion. Of these, thirteen belong to the reign of Akbar, twelve to Jahāngīr and one to Shāh Jahān. According to offences they fall under the following different heads:

Murder	11
Open revolt, including desertion to the enemy (not including armed revolts of zamīndārs) ...	7
Theft committed in the royal treasury ...	1
Highway robbery	1
Plunder of an enemy's camp by soldiers without order	1

which the king had conferred on Xamansurus from his boyhood. After this he was confronted with the proofs of his ingratitude and treason. The criminal was convicted and condemned to be hanged on the evidence of specimens of his autograph-correspondence with Mirsachimus (Mirzā Hakīm) which were produced and shown to him. . . . After the execution they all returned to the camp. The king's mournful countenance plainly showed how much pained he had been by the wretched man's fate' (p. 99). Reference has been made to this case in Chapter V.

Of the other he writes: 'The king has such a hatred of debauchery and adultery that neither influence nor entreaties nor the great ransom which was offered would induce him to pardon his chief trade commissioner, who, although he was already married had violently debauched a well-born Brahman girl. The wretch was by king's order remorselessly strangled' (p. 210).

[1] *Hedāya*, p. 178. [2] Barnī, pp. 510–11.

Adultery by a married man	1
Shiqdār for oppressing the ra'īyyat	1
Obstruction in a royal hunt by one jilaudār (groom)	1
Selling dog's flesh for goat's meat during the famine under Shān Jahān (fourth year of the reign)...	1
Total	25

Executions

It appears that in the method of executions Islāmic Law was not always adhered to, and it depended mostly upon the nature of the offence and the circumstances of the case. Father Monserrate, who appears to be a keen observer and an accurate writer and fond of details and precision, has recorded the nature of punishments as well. He says: 'Those who have committed a capital crime are either crushed by elephants, impaled or hanged. Seducers and adulterers are either strangled or gibbetted.'[1]

Of the twenty-five cases of capital punishment noted above, five were trampled under the feet of elephants,[2] one was strangled, and the rest either beheaded or hanged.[3]

[1] and [2] Monserrate, p. 210, and pp. 85–87. Elephants were specially trained for various purposes. 'They become accustomed to the voice of their keepers and obey them implicitly. They can tie and untie knots, push anything, lift it, put it down again, turn it over. They can cast nooses, and unfasten them, gather up tiny straws and coins. They can even be taught to dance. In short they are ready to do anything that they are told by their keepers. . . . Criminals are crushed to death beneath their feet. . . . On account of this training they are apt to crush anyone who slips or falls down in mounting on to their backs; for they think that he has been thrown before them for that purpose.'

[3] Edward Terry adds killing by dogs and snakes and the like (p. 326). I have neither found any case of such punishments nor any reference to them, nor of snakes being kept for the purpose, though dogs were maintained for the royal hunt. The editor of Terry's narrative has attributed his information to three sources—(1) his personal observation; (2) 'something to Coryat'; (3) 'something also to the gossip of other members of the ambassador's (Sir T. Roe's) suite, or of the merchants at Surat' (p. 288). It appears that this information comes from the third source.

However, it may be noted that the qāzīs and magistrates trying criminal cases had no such option. They always followed Islāmic law or referred the cases to the king. Sālih writes that under Shāh Jahān, if any trying magistrate were found guilty of exceeding the limits fixed by Shara', he would be punished for his offence according to the Sharī'at (dar peshgāher khilāfat va 'adālat jazāi ān bar vufaq-i-Sharī'at ba taqdīm rasad).[1]

Other punishments

Abul Fazl in his introduction to the *Ā'īn* justifies the cutting off of hands or feet in the case of 'a vicious man whose black deeds alarm others and throw, on account of their viciousness, a whole world into grief'. When all other remedies like admonition, threats or imprisonment have failed, 'he should be deprived of the instruments of his wickedness, and lose sight, or his hand, or his foot. But the king ought not to go so far as to cut the thread of his existence (dar gusaikhtan-i-tār o paud-i-hastī dilīrī na numayand); for inquiring sages consider the human form as an edifice made by God, and do not permit its destruction.'[2]

The regulations for the provincial governor were also based on the same principle. 'He should reclaim the rebellious by a just insight into the conduct of affairs by good counsel, failing which he should be swift to punish by reprimands, threats, imprisonment, stripes or amputation of limb, but he must use the utmost deliberation before severing the bond of the principle of life.'[3]

As far as actual cases of amputation of limbs or blinding are concerned, Monserrate has mentioned none, which shows that he did not witness any during his stay at the court. Akbar appears to have been very cautious in this matter, and Monserrate

[1] Salih, I, p. 252. [2] *Ā'īn*, p. 6. Tr., p. ix.

[3] *A'īn*, p. 280. Tr. p. 37. Abul Fazl emphasizes the same and says that Akbar is very slow in taking one's life (*A.N.*, III, p. 298. Tr., p. 442).

while giving the description of the instruments of punishment kept by the chief executioner, says: 'However no one is actually punished with these instruments, which seem to be intended rather to inspire terror than for actual use.'[1]

Jahāngīr issued a farmān after his succession prohibiting the cutting off of nose or ears of any person, and in the same connexion he says, 'I myself made a vow by the throne of God that I would not blemish anyone by this punishment'. Another farmān issued in the sixth year of the reign forbade the governors of provinces to inflict the punishment of blinding.[2]

Cases of royal wrath

In the annals of the period there is one case of Akbar's ordering one of his servants' feet to be cut off for taking off the shoes of a villager by force, during the royal tour in Gujrāt.[3] Similarly, the tongue of Hamzabān was cut off for rude behaviour and disrespect (bad zubānī),[4] and the tip of the tongue of Khvāja Bhūl was cut off for behaving rudely towards Prince Salīm in the forty-second year of the reign,[5] and in the same year one Qāsim was castrated for violating a chaste woman.[6]

In the thirty-ninth year Shedā Beg Tahvīldār of the royal wardrobe was stripped and soused with cold water in the winter month of Bahman for being a regular absentee from kishik (watch at the palace).[7] He died of cold.

Under Jahāngīr there are only two cases of such punishments. The one in which Kalyān, the son of Rāja Bikarmājīt, had his tongue cut off and was imprisoned was a case of seduction and murder, and the other victims of royal wrath were the two kahārs who had their feet cut off for obstructing

[1] p. 211. [2] *Tuzuk*, Tr., p. 205. [3] *A.N.*, III, seventeenth year.
[4] *A.N.*, III, p. 29. [5] *A.N.*, III, p. 577. [6] *A.N.*, III, p. 733.
[7] *A.N.*, III, p. 666. The spellings of kishik in Tr. p. 1,021 (kashak) are incorrect.

the royal hunt at a time when Jahāngīr was aiming his shot.[1]

There is no case of blinding or cutting off of the nose or ears either under Akbar or Jahāngīr, but the issuing of the two farmāns by Jahāngīr shows that such punishments were inflicted in the provinces, and the need was felt to issue definite orders forbidding them.

A typical case of such punishments is of a thief who was presented before Jahāngīr at Ahmadābād during his stay there in the twelfth year of the reign. '. . . the kotvāl of the city caught a thief and brought him. He had committed several thefts before, and each time they had cut off one of his members; once his right hand, the second time the thumb of his left hand, the third time his left ear, and the fourth time they hamstringed him, and the last time his nose; with all this he did not give up his business, and yesterday entered the house of a grass-seller in order to steal. By chance the owner of the house was on the look-out and seized him. The thief wounded the grass-seller several times with a knife and killed him. In the uproar and confusion his relatives attacked the thief and caught him. I ordered them to hand over the thief to the relatives of the deceased so that they might retaliate on him (tā ū rā ba qisās rasānand).'[2]

I have not been able to find any case under Shāh Jahān which could be regarded as the result of royal wrath in the administration of justice.

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 79. Tr., p. 164 (Translation varies from the original). These cases do not include punishments which Jahāngīr inflicted upon Prince Khusrau's partisans after his revolt. They were treated as rebels; their cases do not come within the regular administration of justice.

[2] *Tuzuk*, p. 214. Tr. p. 432. The cutting off of the ear and nose in this case was against the orders referred to above and Jahāngīr appears to have overlooked it. Similarly it shows that in spite of the repetition of the same offence the criminal was not deprived of his life because the regulations did not permit it for this offence.

It may be observed that the cases noted above are not instances of such punishments, but they are all those recorded in the annals of the period and all include important cases in which the king personally awarded such punishments. However they do not include cases in the provinces: there is no source to form any definite opinion about them on the basis of historical facts. De Laet, Pelsaert and Terry under Jahāngīr, and Bernier later on express their opinions about such punishments which were certainly cruel, but they do not record actual cases which they had witnessed. Monserrate under Akbar witnessed the two cases of capital punishment referred to above and both of them are recorded in the *Akbar Nāma* also.

Imprisonment The chief feature of this punishment was that no period was fixed for it. The qāzī and the magistrate had a right to send anyone to prison for the offence or crime for which the punishment could be awarded and the accused had to show signs of repentance to secure his freedom. The object underlying such a punishment can be both detention and reformation, but in the former case there must be some period fixed for it, and in the latter some practical step to reform the prisoner during his term of imprisonment. The lack of the one weighed heavily upon the prisoner, while the lack of the other placed in the hands of the executive a most dangerous weapon of oppression. According to Islāmic law, the duty of showing mercy to prisoners and inspecting their condition from time to time to see whether they showed any signs of repentance was a religious duty attached to the office of the qāzī, but every judge and magistrate cannot be God-fearing and always conscientious in his duties. There must be some power above him to make him perform his duty and some definite law to guide him and to hold him responsible for neglect.

The lot of the prisoners could not be expected to be what one would like to see. The accounts recorded by European travellers, as well as the scattered cases in the chronicles, show that there were neither regular jails in the modern sense nor proper arrangements for keeping criminals and political offenders in custody. Monserrate's account like his other accounts is very lucid on this point also. He says: 'Ordinary criminals are kept under guard in irons, but not in prison. Princes sentenced to imprisonment are sent to the jail at Goaleris (Gwāliār) where they rot away in chains and filth. Noble offenders are handed over to other nobles for punishment, but the base-born either to the captain of the dispatch runners or to the chief executioner.'[1] One can well imagine the lot of each class of these prisoners under these arrangements, which agree with the facts of all the three reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Mirzā Kaiqubād, the son of Mirzā Hakīm (Akbar's brother), was handed over to Jagan Nāth for excessive drinking.[2] Anī Rāi, Jahāngīr's favourite companion had charge of Prince Khusrau.[3] Similarly Prince Rustam Mirzā, son of Sultān Husain Mirzā, deposed from the governorship of Thatta (Sind) for oppression, was handed over to Anī Rāi.[4]

Aurangzebe's instructions to the kotvāls to take the prisoners to the qāzī on the expiry of their term of imprisonment and to direct his attention towards their release shows that the qāzīs fixed such terms as well, but the decision must have depended on their personal discretion and not on any fixed rules.

[1] Monserrate, p. 211. [2] *A.N.*, III. p. 528.

[3] Roe, p. 246. *Mir'āt* has references to jails at the provincial headquarters, where prisoners from all divisions of the province were sent.

[4] *Tuzuk*, ninth year, p. 128.

De Laet, p. 36. For prisons at Gwāliār, Rantambhor and Rohtas.

Bernier, pp. 106–7. For princes sent to prisons to be done away with.

The greatest relief to such prisoners was offered by the king's tours to different parts of the Empire. It is a matter of surprise that the cases of Akbar's attention to such prisoners during his tours are not recorded by Abul Fazl, though instances are found under both Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Jahāngīr released all those 'who had been confined for a long time in the forts and prisons' soon after his accession.[1] In the eleventh year during his tour to the Deccan from Ajmere, he released some of those imprisoned in the fort of Rantambhor.[2] On his return in the thirteenth year, he inspected the condition of all the prisoners of the same fort. 'I ordered that they should bring before me the criminals who were confined in the fort so that I might look into the case of each of them, and give an order in accordance with justice. In brief, with the exception of affairs of murder, and of any person through whose release disturbance or calamity might ensue in the country, I freed them all and to each one in accordance with his circumstances gave his expenses and dress of honour.'[3] There are many individual cases also to which Jahāngīr from time to time gave personal attention, and the result on the whole appears to have been effective.

Similarly Shāh Jahān inspected the Gwāliār fort, examined all the prisoners and released all except those whose freedom was not considered desirable or safe.[4] In the fifth year when he again passed by that fort, there were only eleven cases of long imprisonment and they were all released. In this connexion the chronicler says that it is a fixed regulation that the cases of the prisoners in the fort by which the king happens to halt should be brought to his notice.[5]

[1] *Tuzuk*, p. 5. [2] *Tuzuk*, p. 170.

[3] *Tuzuk*, p. 256. Tr., pp. 59–60.

[4] Lāhorī, I, p. 245.

[5] Lāhorī, I, p. 246.

In the seventeenth year of the reign prisoners were also set free on the occasion of the jashan held to celebrate the recovery of the favourite princess, Begam Sāhib, from prolonged illness; and as an exceptional case prisoners for debts of long standing were also released, and their debts amounting to seven lacs of rupīs were paid from the royal treasury.[1]

Review of the System

There are two striking features of the judicial system noticed in these pages. Firstly, Akbar and his successors maintained the entire structure of the Islāmic state as laid down by Muslim jurists, and strictly followed Islāmic law in the greater part of the sphere of the judicature, as was not done by them in any other part of the political structure of their Empire.

Secondly, the judicial department stands in a marked contrast in organization, in status, and dignity to other departments of the central government which were highly organized and equipped with efficient men.

Both these features have at times been noticed by writers on this period of Indian history, but the causes which led to such a state of affairs have not been examined. The scope of Islāmic law and its application to a small section of the population has been noted above. As for the second feature, the first and the foremost cause of it was the small scope left to the government for the administration of justice by (*a*) the religious character of the Hindū and Muhammadan law noticed above, (*b*) the organization of Indian villages which administered both their civil and criminal cases themselves, (*c*) the nature of the organization of society in cities and towns—the paternal and tribal character or the

[1] Lāhorī, II, p. 355.

birādarī (brotherhood) system which left little scope for litigation in civil cases, (*d*) the close contact with each other among individuals, established by the peculiar nature and needs of the society, as a result of which every one knew every other even in a big city or a qasba. This feature of society still exists in small cities if not in the presidency towns of India.

Thus if a civil case of inheritance, for example, should arise, it will be decided either by the elders of the family, who have better knowledge of the actual state of affairs than the external witnesses can prove, or by the qāzī for the Muslims, and by Ḥindū courts for the Hindūs. Hence only minor cases of contracts or business dealings between different members of the society will have the chance of going to the government courts of justice, and the recorded cases of the period will be of this nature.

Similarly in a society where everyone knows the other and in which the movements, mode of living, and general behaviour of the one are not hidden from the other, in which any news or rumour spreads like a fire and the bad conduct of one affects not only the person guilty but damages the reputation and position of his entire family, there will be few crimes and no difficulty in tracing them. Accordingly the detailed study of the history of the period in its different aspects shows that crimes like theft, dacoity, highway robbery, were the chief crimes, and they were chiefly limited to classes or groups of people who committed them as a profession, barring of course those casual occurrences which accidentally happen in human life and human relations in every society.

Such groups of criminals were treated as the enemies of peace, and military force was used against them. They were prepared for this, and their fate was decided not in judicial courts but on the

battlefields. Minor offences in cities and qasbas went to regular courts, and occasional crimes of a serious nature went to the king.

Secondly, the Government not only maintained the existing structure of society but helped its continuance in every possible way. No change was effected in its main features or organization during the long rule of the Mughals, and no further scope for the administration of justice by the government was created.

Thirdly, the tendency of society as well as the policy of the Government, was to discourage litigation, and hence no facilities were created for it.

The courts established in cities and parganas were sufficient to deal with the limited number of cases and no need was felt to increase them. Similarly, when the object was to discourage litigation no courts of various grades were created to encourage litigants to appeal against every judgement. This view is supported by the procedure adopted in administering justice: efforts were made to reach the truth by various methods and not to decide the case merely on the strength of the evidence produced in the court, and results often justified the use of such measures.

So far as the administration of justice in its limited scope is concerned, its chief features have been noticed. There is no scope for entertaining the ridiculous assertion of Terry that there was no written law, or supporting the irresponsible remark of Bernier that the cane of the governor or the caprice of the monarch ruled the millions.[1] The law bound the qāzī, the magistrate and the king alike. The scope for a king's caprice remained only in the method of punishment. Written plaints were presented, written documents submitted, witnesses produced and cross-examined. In a case of murder

[1] Bernier, p. 236.

recorded in the letters of Muzzaffar Khān Jahān, eighty witnesses were produced by the accused in his defence. Evidence was always taken in accordance with the Islāmic law of evidence. It was recorded and in important cases submitted to the muftī for fatvah. The king never sat to administer justice without a muftī. The judgements were recorded as directed by Muslim jurists, though they cannot be expected to have been written in an elaborate form as in modern times, when they are needed for the guidance of the Court of Appeal.

The greatest weakness of the system which is conspicuous throughout and is emphasized by European travellers consisted in the corruption of the qāzīs. The methods which Akbar used against this class of Muslim theologians were not calculated to achieve their object. When the administration of justice was left in their hands, and they could not be deprived of their power even by a monarch like Akbar, their status might be expected to be raised in proportion to other high posts of the Government. Akbar on the contrary not only lowered their rank but also their prestige.

Their position remained the same under his immediate successors. They were mostly given madad-i-ma'āsh lands conditional on service, and when the prominent ones among them received any rank, it was never high. Even under Shāh Jahān, a prominent man like Qāzī Aslam held sayūrghāl land in Kābul yielding only Rs. 10,000 a year, while Qāzī Khushhāl, who held the office at the capital (Shāh Jahānābād), was in the grade of only 500 zāt.[1]

In the provinces Akbar required the governors to keep an eye upon all the qāzīs and their status does not appear to have risen even under Aurangzebe, who ordered them to see the governor every

[1] *Sālih*, MS. F. 445.

Wednesday (roze chahār shanba nizde nāzim-i-sūba hāzir shavand).[1]

But the accounts of Pelsaert[2] and Bernier[3] about their corruption are much exaggerated. The vigilance of all three monarchs and the strictness which they showed in matters of justice must have led to great caution in appointments, and there are certain names under each reign which were respected alike by the people and the king.[4]

Besides this, the limited scope of cases, the facility of taking a case direct to the king, and the system of combining the dīvān and the bakhshī with the governor and the qāzī must have greatly limited the scope of the corrupt qāzīs' activity. Those who possessed the means of bribing the qāzīs possessed also the means to take their cases to the king even from distant provinces. As for the poor, Bernier says: 'In Asia, if justice be ever administered, it is among the lower classes, among persons, who being equally poor, have no means of corrupting the judges and of buying false witnesses. . . .'[5] Whatever scope remained for corruption was due to the low rank and position in which the qāzīs were kept relative to the mīr 'adls.[6]

The chief features in favour of the system and the administration were the efforts of all three monarchs to establish equality in law for all, and their stern and impartial justice. Not only was the law one for all, but the punishments awarded in recorded cases were the same for high and low. The courts were few, procedure simple, trials quick.[7] There were neither lawyers to live upon litigation nor heavy court fees to maintain a highly

[1] *Mir'āt*, MS. F. 101b. [2] p. 57. [3] p. 236.

[4] See *Haft Aqlīm* also for qāzīs at Lāhore under Akbar. [5] p. 237.

[6] It may be observed that mīr 'adls and dād baks under the Delhī sultanate occupied high and distinguished positions.

[7] Terry, p. 326.

organized state department of justice.[1] Whether it was good or bad is a controversial matter which even modern experts cannot decide dogmatically. But it is certain that the system suited the age in which it existed, and the society for which it was maintained. Its defects continued throughout the period, but the harm resulting from them was much more limited than is generally believed.

[1] Bernier, p. 236. 'There certainly however, some may say, are some advantages peculiar to despotic governments: they have fewer lawyers, and fewer law suits, and those few are more speedily decided.' Bernier attributes this to the absence of the right of private property and condemns it to justify the French system of the seventeenth century. 'No doubt this summary mode of proceeding excited the admiration of our travellers and they returned to France, exclaiming, "O, what an excellent and quick administration of justice! O, the upright kadīs! Models for the imitation of French magistrates!"—not considering that if the party really in the wrong had possessed the means of putting a couple of crowns into the hands of the kadī or his clerks, and of buying with the same sum two false witnesses, he would indisputably have gained his cause or prolonged it as long as he pleased.' (This shows the trend of Bernier's criticism and also the scope of corruption and the amount needed for it.)

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

OUTLINE

Akbar's policy based upon the experience of the past—conquest and consolidation.

The solution of the problem of vizārat and nobility—the continuity of the policy under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. The chief defect of the arrangement.

Direct contact between the king and the people, and its effects. The chief defects of the system.

THE geographical features of Northern India, their influence upon the people and the form of government, and the scope of state activities determined by the peculiar conditions of the country, have been noticed in the introduction.

Akbar's policy based upon the experience of the past

The early sultāns of Delhī fully realized the situation in which they were placed, and throughout the long period of the sultanate, the rulers of all the dynasties adhered to the policy of protection and toleration chalked out by the founders of the kingdom: in it they achieved varying success, like the chequered careers of the Hindū monarchs prior to them. The element of Islām in the country created its own problem. It has been noted how sultāns like Balban and Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī confessed their inability to rule according to Shara' in all its essentials, and why no attempt was made to follow it. Though they failed in it, and never adopted any measure for conversion or ever encouraged it, the Islāmic character of the sultanate remained dominant. In principle the equality of non-Muslims with believers was never recognized—right to a share in government posts was never accorded to them. The same state of affairs continued till Akbar began the conquest of the country and organized it anew. It was natural for him to undertake conquests, for like his predecessor he felt the need of bringing the whole of Northern India under one sway, without which he could neither effectively perform the duty of protection nor guarantee peace to the population. It was the same ideal of becoming chakravartin which Hindū monarchs since the days of Chandragupta Maurya had always kept before them. It was a political necessity forced

Conquest

upon the rulers of Northern India by geographical forces. It needs no explanation and no controversy such as is found in two contradictory remarks of two distinguished writers on Indian history. Count von Noer writes, 'It was not passion for conquest which thrust the sword into the great emperor's hand',[1] while Mrs. Beveridge, in an introduction to the English translation of Von Noer's work, says that he was 'a strong and stout annexationist before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales, . . . he believed in supremacy as being in itself a desirable object, and having men and money, he went to work and took tract after tract without scruple'. Mr. Vincent Smith agrees with her. This is bad reading of Indian history and is the result of not analysing the facts. All the conquests of Akbar can neither be justified by the statement of Von Noer nor condemned by that of Mrs. Beveridge. The conquest of Northern India must be separated from the conquest of the Deccan, for which no geographical or political justification can be offered.

Consolidation

But conquest was not enough. Akbar's greatness does not lie only in his military achievements. Mr. Vincent Smith says: 'He was endowed with a genius for organization rare among eastern potentates and not common in any part of the world. His mind, capable of grasping broad and original principles of government essential to the consolidation and stability of an extensive empire won by aggressive conquest had also an extraordinary capacity for laborious attention to detail.'

Akbar from the beginning of his career of conquest showed that he not only meant to conquer every part of Northern India, but also to conciliate every section of the people of the country, and win them

[1] Von Noer, II, p. 231.

over to his side; to gain their support, and to make their power his own strength instead of exterminating it.

As he progressed his policy became clearer and his task easier. His treatment of conquered foes, fallen enemies, humbled rebels, turbulent officers, all pointed to one policy and one aim, which was peace for all and with all. By conquest, concessions and conciliation he established peace and security in the whole of Āryāvarta in the short space of about two decades. The conquest of the country and the conciliation of local powers was followed by organization and consolidation to secure solidarity and shake off the impression of the ephemeral character of ruling dynasties, an impression which had been created in the country by their frequent changes.

The organization with which Akbar started began from the top and not from below. The chief features of each part of the organization have been noticed in their proper places. The foremost problem with which all the ruling dynasties were confronted was of the relation of the monarch with his vazīrs and nobles. In spite of all the efforts of rulers like Balban and 'Alā-ud-dīn on one side, and Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq and Bahlūl Lodī on the other, no dynasty of the Delhī sultanate found itself secure against its own ministers and nobles, and changes were brought about by both of these groups—provincial governors and military chiefs became the successors of their masters and the founders of new dynasties.

The history of the middle ages in every country is full of the conflict between monarchy and the local powers in which one or the other triumphed at different times, and Professor Hobhouse, on the same theme, says, 'Personal absolutism is for the most part limited to a narrow circle. . . . A conqueror of a

wide territory has after all, to divest himself of most of his real authority over it'.[1]

The solution of the problem of vizārat and nobility

But the manner in which Akbar solved this problem and achieved success in his object is a proof of his 'genius for organization and extraordinary capacity for laborious attention to detail'. In his organization, he departed entirely from the tradition of Muslim jurists and the example of other Islāmic kingdoms, including the Delhī sultanate. He did away entirely with the principle of one all-powerful vazīr in the Empire, and divided his powers and functions among four ministers of nearly equal power, rank and status. The position which he gave to his vakīl, the powers which he placed in the hands of his chief dīvān, show the originality of his mind; the checks and balances he created in the distribution of work among the mīr bakhshī and the mīr sāmān, and the routine he established in the administrative machinery which brought all the four ministers, including the sadr, in direct contact with each other, were conclusively the result of his mastery of detail. The example which he set of selecting his ministers from any rank or class or sect was another departure from both Muslim and Hindū principles of government.

He dealt a severe blow to the prestige, power and influence of the aristocracy in the state. An amīr or noble could not claim or expect to gain the highest post by virtue of his rank or salary. Rank was personal and had no relation to the different posts of the government. Similarly the example of giving certain amīrs a higher rank than the ministers of state created a check upon the power of ministers. Rank and power were seldom combined in one person. Mirzā 'Azīz Koka under Akbar and Āsaf Khān under Shāh Jahān held the

[1] Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, p. 56.

highest rank, together with the post of the vakīl, but the office carried no power. Real power, rank and influence can be said to have been enjoyed for a short time by Shāh Jahān's dīvān, Sa'dulla Khān alone, who was given the highest rank held by Āsaf Khān, and his distinction becomes still more conspicuous by the fact that he held it solely on his personal merit without any external or supplementary influence or relationship to the king, as was the case with I'timād-ud-Daula or Āsaf Khān.

The precedent established of holding regular councils of ministers and high amīrs and referring all important matters to them for decision may be said to have proceeded from Hindū ideas, and if the remark of Father Monserrate which suggests the number of the council as twenty be correct, then it would conform exactly to the Hindū tradition.

It may also be observed that in spite of all checks imposed upon the ministers, they did not suffer in prestige. The ministers under all three monarchs, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, enjoyed the absolute confidence of their masters; and the conspicuous among them enjoyed the highest respect which a minister in any state can expect or enjoy. Muzzaffar Khān, Rāja Todar Mal and Mīr Fatahulla Shīrāzī under Akbar; I'timād-ud-Daula and Khvāja Abul Hasan under Jahāngīr; 'Allāmī Afzal Khān and Sa'dulla Khān under Shāh Jahān deserve special mention in this connexion. The four ministers were certainly the four pillars of the Empire, but not like the symbolical pillars of the Turkish Empire which held the tent, but pillars like those of the Mughal Tāj, which do not support the structure but add to its dignity, majesty and beauty.

The continuity of the policy

The structure established by Akbar and the spirit which guided its internal working were loyally maintained by his immediate successors, and its every branch received fresh vigour under Shāh

Jahān. The merits of a system are best judged by the measure of success achieved by it in the attainment of the object for which it has been established, and judged by this standard there can be no better proof of the soundness of Akbar's system and the efficiency of its internal working than that during the period of ninety-seven years (1560–1657): (1) Only one minister, Shāh Mansūr, was charged with high treason under Akbar, and the king met him not on a battlefield but in a regular court of justice which condemned him to death. He was silently executed, the charge remained a mystery, and the king was filled with grief at his minister's fate; (2) The officers from the lowest rank of clerkship rose to the highest office of a minister by virtue of their capacity and loyalty without any influence or recommendation and without any distinction of class, caste or creed. Muzzaffar, Shāh Mansūr, Rāi Patar Dās and Āsaf Khān Qazvīnī started in very low grades under Akbar; I'timād-ud-Daula himself started as a mushrif and was a minister under Jahāngīr five years before his daughter Mihrun Nīsa became Nūr Jahān. Both Sa'dulla Khān and Rāi Rāyān started as clerks under Shāh Jahān; (3) There were only three cases of corruption in the ministerial rank, two of which belong to the reign of Akbar—Khvāja Jahān and Rāi Patar Dās. The former is charged by Badā'ūnī only, and he attributes his removal from office, when he was working as a colleague with Muzzaffar Khān, to the same cause, while the account of the latter has been recorded in Chapter V. The third and most surprising case is that of I'timad-ud-Daula under Jahāngīr. Mu'tamad Khān brings the charge of bribery against him, and there is no reason to disbelieve him, when his position and character as a writer are considered as a whole. He is the most reliable and useful authority of the period and, though bold and frank, yet he was extremely

cautious in expressing his opinions about his contemporaries and colleagues. He expresses a very high opinion of the said dīvān's capacity, learning, skill and polite manners and also testifies to Jahāngīr's statements about his popularity; but he adds that in taking bribes he was very bold and fearless (baghāiat nekzāt va kār guzār būd . . . lekin dar rishvat giriftan sakht dīlir va be bāk būd).[1] The case of Mūsāvī Khān, the chief sadr of Shāh Jahān, was of irregularity and not of corruption.

The second feature of the system was that the ministers enjoyed perfect security during their term of office and good behaviour and were not exposed to the dangers which generally arise under absolute monarchies from kings' whims and caprice or court intrigues. None lost his head or office from this cause and none shrank from performing his duties owing to uncertainty of his position. It has been noticed before that even Nūr Jahān could not harm any of Jahāngīr's ministers though all of them were opposed to her plans, and they actively supported Shāh Jahān when the time arrived for action.

The third feature was that the entire system moved, and every part of it worked, in a regular order. From the clerk to the minister of a department every one knew his duties, his position and his daily routine. The clerk could say to the minister and the minister to the king that the rule was such and such in a particular matter. The phrase at the tip of every tongue was 'zābita īnast'. The cases of Rāi Subhā Chand, an office superintendent stopping the chief dīvān from exceeding his powers, and of Sa'dulla Khān using the term 'zābita nīst' before the king in the case of the most powerful Prince Dāra Shikoh, have been noticed. Akbar established the tradition, and his immediate successors not only respected it but gave the rules and regulations set

[1] Mu'tamad, p. 55.

by him the sanctity of law. The king had, of course, the power to act as he pleased, but a minister was certain of his position so long as he acted according to the fixed regulations. In practice the kings respected the rules and regulations which they themselves had framed, and appreciated the minister who dutifully followed them.

The chief defects of the arrangement

The fourth feature of the system connected with the organization of the vizārat was the lack of power in the hands of the chief minister. The conditions under which Akbar started his work certainly demanded a radical change, and the type of men with whom he had to deal left him no other option than to centralize all real power in his own hands, and leave the conduct of the administrative machinery in the hands of ministers of equal power, keeping himself in touch with them to ensure its proper working; but when conditions changed and matters improved and traditions became settled, the lack of real power generally needed for the chief in every form of government appears to have been felt by the men who were placed in that situation, and it seems to have been indirectly expressed by the chief dīvāns of Shāh Jahān. 'Allāmī Afzal Khān is reported to have said that the chief vazīr should possess the power of appointing and removing officials placed under him, and should be in a position to maintain the largest number of soldiers to overawe the highest amīr in the state. In other words, he wanted to be the first man in the state, a position which the Mughal system did not permit. Similarly another chief dīvān, Islām Khān, to whom Rāi Diyānat Rāi was attached as a joint colleague, found his position untenable: he only put his heart into his work when the Rāi was transferred to another department. Islām Khān used to say that the entire management of the world is the work of one efficient man. It was this lack of power and the rigidity of

the system in this matter which made the machinery unworkable when the king ceased to be its motive-power. It was the chief cause which created complications under Shāh Jahān after the death of Sa'dulla Khān. He was overcome by his failing health and disease, and was unable to rule; and there was no power in the state to work the system though everything stood in perfect order. It was this lack of power which immediately led to the struggle among his sons and to the tragic end of his rule.

Direct contact between the king and the people

The second aspect of the central structure was the king's attitude towards his position in the state and the conception of his duties towards his subjects. The main features of both have been noticed in the first chapter and the practical steps which the monarchs took to carry out their intentions have been observed in the second chapter. Legally, the king was the khalīfa of God and bound to rule according to the laws of God. Constitutionally, he was an absolute monarch, theoretically, his word was the law and his will the pleasure of all under him. But how far in practice, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān ruled as khalīfas of God and to what extent they enforced Islāmic law as Muslim kings has been noticed.

Akbar started with the definite idea of remedying the two conspicuous defects of the system of the Delhī sultāns, (1) the difference in status between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects; (2) the lack of scope for direct contact between the king and the people. The first led to complete toleration and the eradication of the idea of a Muslim kingdom. His institutions carried into practice his ideas about toleration, and his personal policy directed against the Muslim theologians had the second aim in view. Not only did he not want the idea to be reflected in his institutions, but he did not even like this impression of a Muslim state to exist in relation to the king, or in any group within his state. The

record of his reign is full of this struggle in which he finally triumphed. His kingdom was a kingdom for all religions and for all races.[1] Merit and loyalty were the test for every rise and distinction. As Lybyer in his comparison of the Turkish Empire with that of the Mughals in India says: 'Appointments and promotions were, as at Constantinople, based upon valor and manifestability. Through all the period of greatness the ladder of advancement was kept so clear that vigour, courage and prowess could mount from the lowest ranks to the steps of the throne.'[2] The law was the same for Hindūs and Muslims, high and low, and in this sphere the Mughal emperors decidedly showed an improvement not only upon the Hindū traditions of Āryāvarta but also upon the spirit of the time in which they lived.

The attempt to establish a closer contact with every class of people of the country—to gain their goodwill, and give solidarity to the Empire—was carried out in various ways. The policy of conciliation followed by conquest gained the goodwill of the local Hindū chiefs of importance. Toleration as defined above won their active co-operation, and helped the reconciliation of other classes.

Akbar organized the country in provinces, instead of parcelling it out into military fiefs, and thus established uniform systems and institutions throughout the country under the direct control of the capital. This guaranteed internal security against the oppression of the strong over the weak, and the principle of Abul Fazl that the 'hearts of just rulers are an iron fortress and celestial armour' for the lover of peace, and 'life-slaying sword and heart-rending

[1] Monserrate expresses his views of Akbar's toleration as he saw it in the words, 'He cared little that in allowing everyone to follow his religion he was in reality violating all religions' (p. 142). Offer to Christian priests to 'live freely in his empire and build their churches . . .' (p. 47).

[2] Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 283.

dagger' for the wicked was emphasized by Akbar and his two successors both in words and deeds. It was this protection and toleration, combined with perfect peace and impartial justice, which Faizī expressed in the following lines:

Khudāvande ke mā rā khusravi dad
Dil.e dānī va bāzū e qavī dad
Ba 'adlo dad ma ra rahna mun kard
Bajuz 'adl az khijal i mā burun kard.

The devotion of the king to his multifarious duties and his attention to every phase of state activity guaranteed the continuity of the system once established, and his vigilance over officers of every rank and department ensured the maximum success possible in the ideals and the policy laid down and closely adhered to throughout the period under review. The opening of the darbār daily to the lowest of their subjects, the centralization of all power, all appointments, all patronage in the hands of the monarch, the organization of tours to different parts of the Empire—thus making the same access and same benefits of personal attention possible to the people of different parts of the Empire—the interest shown in the ancient traditions of the people and the respect of their customs, and the celebration of their festivals of Dasehra, Dīvālī and Rākhī Pūnam as state functions like those of Muslim Īds, all these were means directed towards the same end.

The policy gave them their reward. The country enjoyed peace and prosperity, and the dynasty a security which had been not enjoyed by any dynasty in India for centuries before. These points need no elucidation. Every student of Indian History is familiar with them.[1]

[1] Lybyer, quoted above, says: 'In the days of its greatness the budget of the Mogul Empire, alike in income and expenditure, reached a height which had rarely if ever been attained before. That of the East

The chief defects of the system

When the achievements of the state have been observed, and account is taken of the rapid decay of the Empire, and with it of the prosperity of the country, one is naturally tempted to trace the defects of the system which contributed to this result in spite of all its solid structure.

In this respect, the first and the greatest defect of the system was its over-centralization and its dependence upon the person of the monarch, but in fairness it may also be added that in the absence of any constitution to guarantee the continuance of the institutions once established the conditions left no other alternative; no group in the country existed to take the place of a powerful monarch nor had any group in India prior to the Mughals given any proof of this capacity or of its sincerity in matters vitally affecting the people and the country. The king had always to act as a guardian of the weak both against his own official agents and the local chiefs. The misery which the independent rule of the chiefs with all their selfish ambitions, mutual rivalries and wars had brought upon the country at different times left no scope for any further experiment in that direction, and the Mughal system started on entirely different lines, in which the rights of the landed aristocracy found no place. Hence the defect was not in the institutions but in the monarchical form of Government. The country had not known any other form, the Mughals themselves were familiar with no other nor could they guarantee a succession of monarchs like Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān for ever. When they disappeared, their dynasty and Empire took the natural course and suffered

Roman Empire under the Macedonian dynasty, and the Saracen Empire in the days of Harūn-al-Rashīd, may have rivalled it, but it is probable that only the great western powers, enriched by the industrial revolution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have reached a financial magnitude beyond that of the Empire of Aurangzebe' (p. 295).

the fate which other ruling dynasties did in other parts of the world.

The second defect was the policy of conquest which must also be attributed to Akbar, to whose originality and natural gifts the Empire owed all its achievements. Akbar, like all other monarchs of Northern India, yielded to the temptation to carry his arms farther south beyond Āryāvarta. When he found his authority firmly established and his kingdom safe, he entered the Deccan plateau and left an unfinished task to his successors. They took it up with zeal equal to that with which they worked his other institutions, and none of them could realize the uselessness of continuing it, as Fīrūz Tughluq had done nearly two centuries before. Had Akbar limited his efforts towards the realization of his ambition of becoming chakravartin, his achievements would have been still greater and the Empire in all probability would have continued longer.

The third cause which contributed to this rapid fall was the absence of any national spirit in the country. The idea of a national spirit and the need for unity is glorified in Sanskrit literature and emphasized by religious and political writers of ancient India, but history does not record its exhibition at any crisis in the country. When the Muslims entered the land, they failed equally to exhibit it. In spite of all ideals of Muslim brotherhood and conceptions of the Islāmic state and duty to God, they never showed any unity among themselves in the land of unbelievers. They never considered the Delhī sultanate as their common heritage and never combined among themselves to uphold its prestige or to preserve its integrity. It was their lack of unity, and mutual jealousy and rivalry, like those of the Rājput chiefs, which more than any other cause shook the foundations of the sultanate and finally brought about its fall. The Sūr dynasty suffered the same fate for the same

cause. The Mughal Empire in its early stage experienced the same difficulty. Akbar fully realized the absence of any national spirit, and tried to build one, but the history of his dynasty records that he failed in his great task.

It was the force of the personalities of Akbar and his immediate successors and the fortunate accident of their long lives which contributed to the achievements of their dynasty and the prosperity of the country, and kept in check all the disintegrating elements in the higher and the lower ranks. When that force was gone, both Hindūs and Muslims showed the same tendency, and history repeated itself exactly on the lines which have been noticed in the introduction. The Sikhs, Rājputs, Saiyids, Sheikhs, Afghāns, Īrānīs and Tūrānīs, who formed the bulk of the higher class of society, contributed equally to its fall.

However, Shāh Jahān had the satisfaction of seeing Akbar's ideal fulfilled during his regime, and the proof of it curiously comes through Aurangzebe, who in one of his letters records it.[1] It clearly shows the scope of State activities, the ideal of the monarchy and the people's expectations from it. It was towards the close of his rule, during Sa'dulla Khān's vizārat, when Shāh Jahān, going out in a procession, suddenly stopped at the cry of an unknown person: 'Hail, O King! Thou owest a thanksgiving to God. The king is just. The ministers are able and the secretaries honest. The country is prosperous and the people contented.' Shāh Jahān raised his hands in prayer, bowed his head, offered thanksgiving to God and the nobles, and the people witnessed it.

[1] MS. Add. 6,588, F. 55b.

APPENDIX

کرانصد شش صد روپیه موصوفه مذکوره می‌شود بدست بنی‌رام

بن الجهمی زراین بن اندرسین رهن کرده گروهناده موعا خالیاً

عن حق الغیر وعما یمنع القبض وتسلیم تسلیمش نموده ومرتهن مذکور

محدوده مذبور را از مقر مذکور رهن وباقباض راهن مسطور در

قبض شرعی خود آورده وتقابض بدلین بینهما واقع شده وضامن

متعهد شدند مجزان مذکوران برین که اگر حق دیگری ظاهر شود و

واستحقاق آرد باز از خالصه شریفه برآید مجزان مذکور به مرتهن

مذکور مبلغ مرقوم را جواب گویند ونیز راهن مذکور مرتهن مذبور را

وکیل مطلق ساخت وقایم مقام خود گردانید برینکه اگر راهن

مذکور مبلغ مذکور را بعد مضی مدت وعدت رهن که شش ماه

مقرر شده بمرتهن مذکور رساند مرتهن مذبوره وکالةً محدوده

مذبوره را بالقیمت وقت فروخته مبلغ وجه رهن خود را بگیرد وتتمه را

براهن مسطور رساند واینخط که عندالحاجت سند گردد یازدهم

شهر ربیع الاول سنه قلمی شد حلیه راهن ومرتهن وهردو مجز

قباله دوم شرح رهن نامه حویلی

اقرار کرد و اعتراف نمود مخبر باسم و نسب خود را بچندین بین سنگه

بن بهر دیرام قوم زنار دار فی حال صحیح اقرار شرعا جایز انافذه

برینجا که یکقطعه زمین موازی هزار پانصد درع بعرض و طول که

مشتمل احاطه دیوارهای گلی و دو خانه خس پوش در شهر کهنه

واقعست در محله فیروزآباد محدودست بدین حدود اربعه معینه

چنانچه شرقی آن متصل بحویلی کنور سنگه کهتری پیش دست

ایش وزالضرب غربی آن ملحق بحویلی اندر حست راجپوت ملازم

سرکار خان والاشان بهرمند خان جنوبی آن ملحق بکوچه

نافذه شمالی آن پیوسته بشارع عام والیه الباب از ارث

پدری حق و ملک و قبض مقر مذکورست و بر ملکیت مسطوره جز اوند

مسمی اودیرام و جیکشن زنارداران محله مزبوره دربینو لا مقر

مذکور محدوده مسطوره را با جمیع توابع قلیل و کثیر داخلی و خارجی

متقابله مبلغ هزار و دو صد روپیه نقد جید تمام وزن رایج الوقت

VIII THE MORTGAGE OF A HOUSE

By Udai Rām and Jai Kishan for Rs. 1,200 to Benī Rām, etc.
Showing the application of Islāmic law in such cases.

Br. Mus. MS. Add. 6,585

سبب محضر چون بموجب آیه کریمه لا تکتموا الشهادة
ومن یکتمها فانه آثم قلبه ادای شهادت باعث سعادت و کتمان گواهی از جمله
مناهی است بنابران سوال میکند و استشهادی حق میخواهد اضعف العباد محمد
جواد از سادات کرام و مشایخ عظام و قصبات اهل اسلام و اهالی و موالی
ذوی الاحترام و جمع کافه انام از خاص و عام متوطنه قصبه بلگرام بر همگی که
بر هر یک [illegible] روشن است که یک منزل حویلی معلومه المحدود و موروثی این
سایل در قصبه مذکوره متصل حویلی میر فضایل واقعه بکار واقع است هرگاه این کمترین
عباد الله بسبب روزگار از وطن جدا شده حویلی مذکور عاریتاً بجهة سکونت حواله
بایزید افغان که قبیله خود همراه داشت و بجهة آرام کله عیال و اطفال خود
جابجا پریشان میگشت بتقرار مرقوم عاریت نامه که عند الطلب حویلی را
خالی کرده بدهد نموده رفته بود درینولا که احقر در وطن رسیده موافق قرارداد
سطور طلب حویلی مینماید افغان مذکور بزبردستی و تعدی از حویلی بر نمی آید
هرگاه از حال و صدق این مقال آگاهی و اطلاعی داشته حسبة لله گواهی خود
در ذیل این سوال نامه ثبت نماید و نوشتن اجازت فرماید که عند الله ماجور و
عند الناس مشکور گردد

VII. COPY OF A PLAINT

Claiming the ownership of a house in the possession of the defendant

Br. Mus. MS. Add. 6,585

شرح پروانهٔ باغ چون احداث باغ موجب رونق ملک بادشاهی و باعث
استفادهٔ خلایق است لهذا اراضی ده بیگه زمین قابل زراعت بگز الهی
بموجب استدعای فضایل پناه نجابت دستگاه میر حبیب الله بتصدق فرق
مبارک من ابتدای فصل خریف توشقان ییل سنه فلان از رقبه قصبه رحیم پور
مضاف سرکار و صوبه دار الخلافه شاهجهان آباد مقرر نموده شد باید که متصدیان
پرگنه مذکور اراضی مذکوره از محل بیک پیموده و چک بسته حواله مشارالیه
نمایند که در آنجا نهال اشجار میوه دار ترتیب فرشاره و حاصلات آن را در پرورش
نهال‌های مذکوره و ترتیب و احداث چاه صرف نماید که مسافرین و مترددین
از سایه و آب به آرام یافته بدعای بقای عمر و دولت ابد طراز مواظبت و اشتغال
می‌نموده باشند پروانهٔ دیگر چون ترتیب باغ و احداث چاه رونق ملک
بادشاهی و موجب آسایش و آرام مسافرین و مترددین است بنابران
بتصدق فرق مبارک بندگان حضرت خاقانی اعلی اراضی پنج بیگه
زمین بنجر افتاده خارج جمع لایق زراعت بگز الهی از ابتدای فصل خریف
تخاقوییل سنه فلان فصلی از سواد قصبه پرگنه فیض آباد سرکار و صوبه دار الخلافه
شاهجهان آباد بجهة باغ فضیلت و حقایق آگاه شیخ رحمت الله مقرر نموده شد
باید که متصدیان پرگنه مذکور اراضی مذکوره را پیموده و چک بسته بتصرف
مشارالیه واگذارند

VI. COPY OF A PARVANA

Granting madad-i-ma'ash land for laying out a garden on the condition of allowing travellers to take shelter and use the wells therein for drinking water

Br. Mus. MS. Add. 6,585

شرح پروانه زمین مدد معاش   در نیولا بظهور پیوست که مسماة زینب و غیرها

کثیر العیال و پریشان احوال اند و از عدم وجه کفاف اوقات را بعسرت

میگذرانند لهذا موازی بیست بیگه زمین بنجر افتاده خارج جمع لایق زراعت

بگز الهی بتصدیق فرق مبارک بندگان حضرت قدر قدرت خدیو زمین

و زمان خداوند زمین و مکان ظل سبحان خلیفة الرحمانی من ابتدای فصل خریف

او دییل سنه فلان حسب الضمن در وجه مدد معاش مومی الیهما از پرگنه فلان

سرکار صوبه فلان مقرر نموده شد باید که متصدیان پرگنه مذکور اراضی مذکوره را از محال

نیک پیموده و چک بسته بتصرف انها واگذارند که مزروع ساخته حاصلات

انرا صرف مایحتاج خود نموده بدعای بقای دولت ابد اتصال بمواظبت و دوام اشتغال

داشته باشند درینباب تاکید دانند

V. COPY OF A PARVANA

For the award of madad-i-ma'ash land

Br. Mus. MS. Add. 6,585

فرمان دستک راهداری کروریان و متصدیان و جاگیرداران

و زمینداران و چوکیداران و گذربانان راه کابل بعنایات

خسروانه امیدوار بوده بدانند درین ولا سعادت نصاب خواجه یادگار

که یکی از معتقدان درگاه گیتی پناه است بولایت میرود و ذر اسباب سوداگری

از سرکار خالصهٔ شریفه و قدری پارچه از خود همراه دارد باید که

بعلت زکوات و غیره مزاحم حال او نگردند و هر جاکه نزول نماید

از چوکی و پهره خبردار بوده از مخاطره راه در حدود خود ها سلامت

بگذرانند و اصلا و مطلقا تغافل ننمایند اگر احیانا در حد حدود کسی

امری ناشایسته واقع خواهد شد از عهدهٔ آن جواب خواهند کرد

IV. DASTAK RĀHDĀRĪ (PASSPORT)

Giving instructions to state officers, jāgīrdārs, and zamīndārs to let the holder pass through their jurisdiction to Kābul.

Br. Mus. MS. Or. 26,140

نقل پروانه حضرت ... چودهریان و قانونگویان و زمینداران و رعایا
پرگنه رحیم آباد سرکار لکهنو مضاف صوبه اوده بدانند چون بموجب حکم ارفع اقدس
خدمت امینی پرگنه مزبور از ابتدا فصل خریف توشقان ئیل سنه بکفایت آثار
عبد الغفار مقرر و مفوض گشته باید که مشار الیه را امین مستقل آن محال دانسته
از سخن صلاح و صوابدید حسابی او که متضمن کفایت سرکار والا و رفاهیت حال
رعایا باشد بیرون نروند سبیل مومی الیه آنکه در لوازم خدمت مامور دقیقه از دقایق
نامرعی نگذاشته از روی راستی و دیانت بتقدیم رساند و در ازدیاد آبادانی
و کثرت زراعت و پیش آمد جمع سعی که باید کرد بکند که یک بسوه زمین قابل
زراعت افتاده نماند و رعایا را از حسن سلوک خود راضی نگاه دارد و نهجی که
مال سرکار والا بسرکار عاید گردد و رعایا بحق خود برسد بر وقت تشخیص نموده سررشته
کاغذ را موافق ضابطه بدفتر معلی ارسال دارد و خبردار باشد که عامل طلبه و بالادستی
برداشت نتواند کرد و همچنین از فوطه دار نیز خبرگیران باشد که هرچه تحویل فوطه دار
از مال و سایر شود یکدام بی سند معتبر خرج نکند و تصرف در مال سرکار نتواند
کرد از آنجا که محافظت زر تحویل فوطه دار بعهده امین است هرگونه احتیاط که
باید بکار برد که تا فی الحال جواب آن یعنی بر ذمه اوست درین باب قدغن عظیم
شناسد و از سطر صدر تخلف نورزد

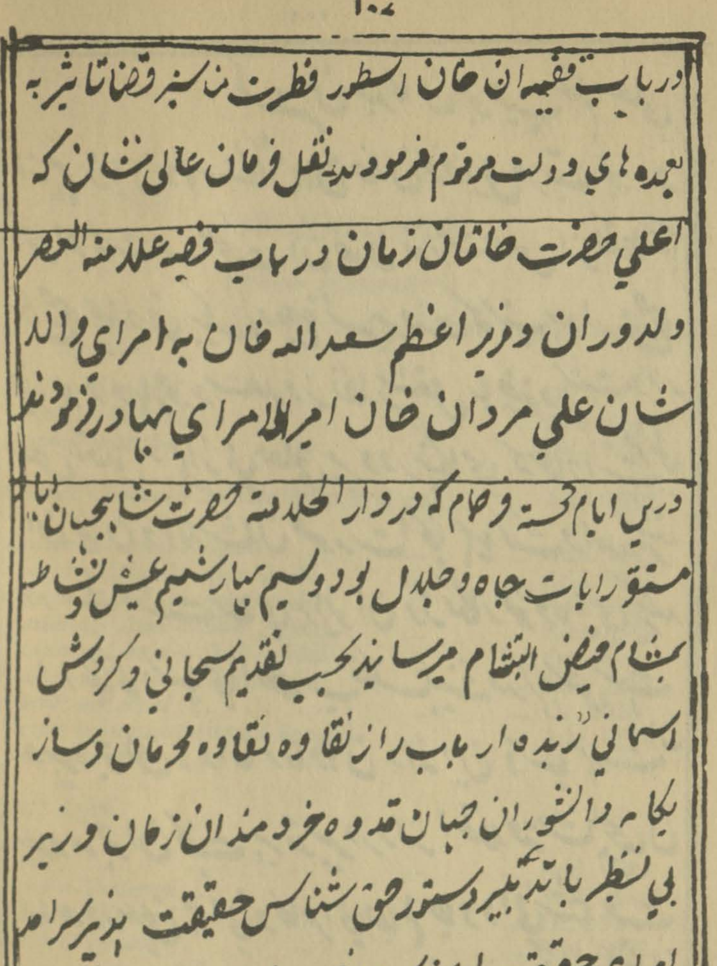
III. COPY OF A PARVANA OF APPOINTMENT

To the post of the Amīn of Pargana Rahīmābād (Lucknow) for the information of the officers and the people of the Pargana concerned.

Br. Mus. MS. Add. 6,585

عمر دراز و از حیات مستعار بهره کامل می‌یافت تا در عهد
ابد قرین سعادت آئین مصدر خدمات نمایان گردیده
در راه قبله و مرشد خود جانفشانیها می‌نمود و افسوس که
ترکیب عنصری را ثباتی و بقائی نیست و کاخ دنیای نا-
پایدار را اساس استحکامی چون همواره از قضا بتقدیرات
ایزدی پیش خاطر ملکوت ناظر است نزهت برای رضا
و تسلیم خوابیده از جناب کبریا آمرزش آن رهرو ملک بقا
مسالت نموده‌ایم و خاطر فیض اثر را السلامتی ذات ملکی
ملکات اقدس که باعث امنیت و جمعیت جهان و
جهانیان و موجب آسایش و رفاهیت عالم و عالمیان
است تسلی بخشیده‌ایم

کمالات صوری و معنوی مستجمع صفات کسبی و وهبی
محک علوم نقاد سخن ادراک حقایق کشاف دقایق
گنج علم دریای معانی دستور اعظم وزیر معظم یار محمد
عیار مرز اجداد ان سعدالله خان که بعنایتهای گوناگون و مراحم
روزافزون تربیت پدر قدسی در خدمت فیض نسبت مقدس معلی
یافته بمدارج اعلا و مراتب اقصی فایز گردیده بود و خود در شاه
راه وفا و اخلاص فدا ساخته استرضای خاطر اقدس را بر جمیع مطالب
مقدم میداشت و حاصل مرادات دو جهانی و سرمایه عمر و زندگانی خود را
منحصر در حصول رضای منبع فیض مآثر اقدس می انگاشت روز سه شنبه
شهر جمادی الثانی سنه از جلوس میمنت مانوس جهان گذران
را گذاشته از تنگنای عالم جسمانی گذشته بعالم روحانی
شتافت از وقوع این واقعه و شیوع این سانحه غبار حزن
و ملال بر آینه ضمیر آفتاب مثال نشسته طبع نشاط آگین بی
اختیار مکدر متوجع گشت کاش در خور قابلیت و استعداد
و کمالات از مبدای فیاض کسوت:

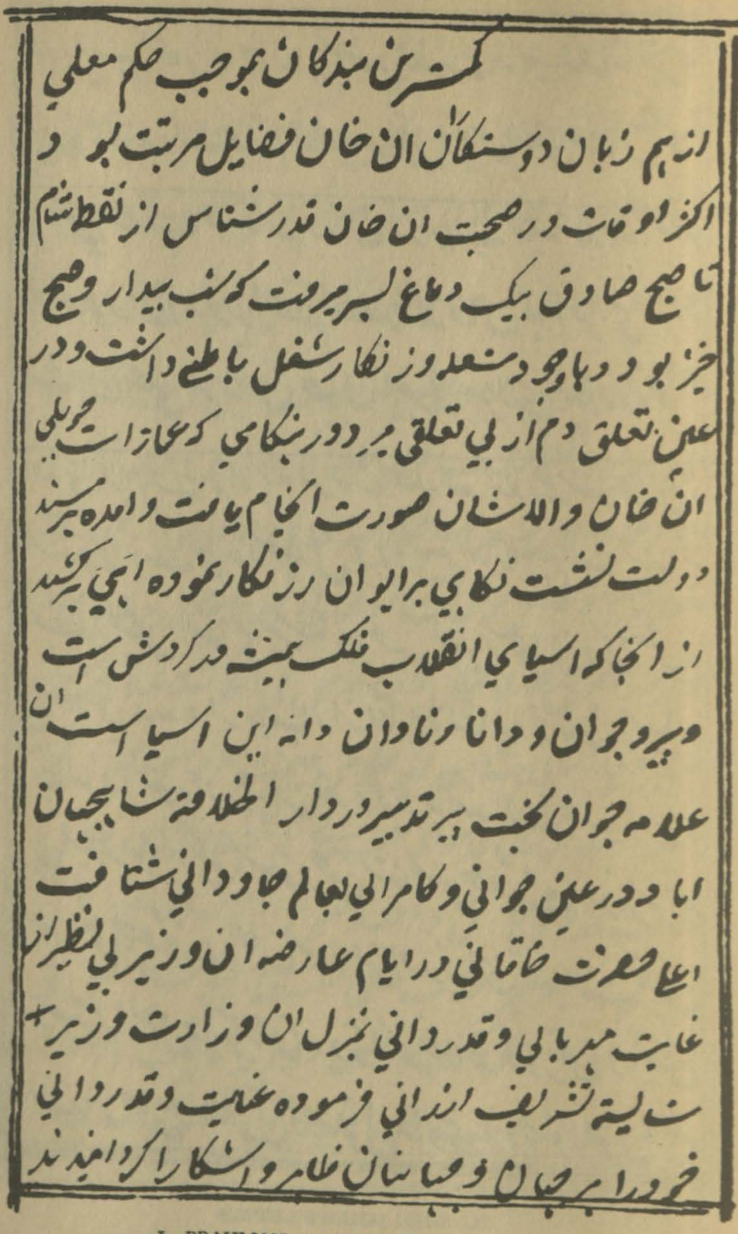

۱۰۷

در باب قضیه ان خان اسطور فطرت منبر قضا تاثیر به
بعده های دولت مرقوم فرموده بند نقل فرمان عالی شان که
اعلی حضرت خاقان زمان در باب قضیه علامة العصر
ولدوران وزیر اعظم سعدالله خان به امرای والا
شان علی مردان خان امیرالامرای بهادر فرمودند
درین ایام فرخنده فرجام که در دار الخلافه حضرت شاهجهان آباد
مستقر رایات جاه و جلال بود و نسیم بهار شمیم عیش و نشاط
بمشام فیض التیام میرسانید بحسب تقدیر سبحانی و گردش
آسمانی زبده ارباب راز نقاوه نقاوه محرمان دمساز
یگانه دانشوران جهان قدوه خردمندان زمان وزیر
بی نظیر با تدبیر دستور حق شناس حقیقت پذیر سرآمد
امرای حقیقت آیین سر دفتر وزرای صاحب تمکین
دستور العمل دانایان روزگار علامه دوربین دانش
شعار جامع معقول و منقول حاوی فروع و الاصول مظهر

II. SHĀH JAHĀN'S LETTER

To 'Alī Mardān Khān on Sa'dulla's death expressing his views about him and grief at his loss (See p. 201)

Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1,892



۱۰۶

کسترین بندکان بموجب حکم معلی
از هم زبان دوستکان ان خان فضایل مرتبت بود
اکثر اوقات در صحبت ان خان قدرشناس از نقطه شام
تا صبح صادق بیک دماغ بسر میرفت که شب بیدار و صبح
خیز بود و دهاو چو دشعلو زنکار شغل باطنی داشت و در
عین تعلق دم از بی تعلقی میزد و در هنگامی که مجازات حربلی
ان خان والاشان صورت انجام یافت و اعده بر مسند
دولت نشست نکاهی برایوان رزنکار نموده ابیی برکشید
ازانجاکه اسیای انقلاب فلک همیشه در کردش است
پیر و جوان و دانا و نادان دانه این اسیا است ان
علامه جوان بخت پیر تدبیر در دار الخلافه شاهجهان
اباد در عین جوانی و کامرانی بعالم جاودانی شتافت
اعلی حضرت خاقانی در ایام عارضه ان وزیر بی نظیر از
غایت مهربانی و قدردانی بمنزل ان وزارت وزیر+
شایسته تشریف ارزانی فرموده عنایت و قدردانی
خورد و بزرگ جوان و عیاشان ظاهر و اشکارا کردانیدند

I. BRAHMAN AS SA'DULLA'S COMPANION

(See p. 201)

Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1,892

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Persian Manuscripts

For details see pp. 7–28, 'The Sources,' where they are arranged topically.

Ādab-i-'Ālamgīrī ... ... Or. 177
'Arzdāsht (Letters) ... ... Add. 16859
Āsar-ul-vuzarā ... ... Or. 1920

Chahār Chaman (Chandra Bhān Brahman) ... Add. 1892

Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Āgahī ... ... Add. 1881
Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Aurangzebe ... ... Add. 6599
Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Aurangzebe ... ... Add. 6598
Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Shāh Jahānī ... ... Add. 6588
Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Shāh Jahānī ... ... Or. 1690
Dastūr-ul-'Amal-i-Shāhinshāhī ... ... Add. 22831
Dastūr-ul-'Amal ... ... Or. 2026
Dastūr (administration of Bengāl) ... ... Add. 6586
Dīvān Pasand ... ... Or. 2011

Haft Aqlīm ... ... Or. 203

Inshā' ... ... Add. 9697
Inshā'-i-Brahman ... ... Add. 26141
Irshād-ul-Vuzarā ... ... Or. 233
Istilāhāt (glossary) ... ... Add. 6603

Latīfa-i-Faizī ... ... Egerton 695

Makātib-i-'Allāmī... ... ... Add. 6548
Makātib-i-'Allāmī... ... ... Add. 16863
Mir'āt-i-Ahmadī ... ... Add. 6580
Mir'āt-ul-Istilāh ... ... Or. 1813
Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngīrī ... ... Or. 171

Nāsāih Khvāja Nizām-ul-Mulk ... ... Or. 256

Sharah-i-Manāsib... ... ... Or. 1906

Sulūk-ul-Muluk ... ... Or. 233
Sulūk-ul-Saltanat ... ... Or. 254

Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī ... ... Or. 197
Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Shāhī ... ... India Office Library No. 223
Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī ... ...
Tārīkh-i-Shāh Jahānī (Sādiq Khān) ... ... Or. 174
Tārīkh-i-Shākir Khānī ... ... Add. 6585
Tazkirat-ul-Umarā ... ... Add. 16703

Vāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī ... ... Add. 11633

Zakhīrat-ul-Mulūk ... ... Add. 7618
Zavābit-i-'Ālamgīr ... ... Or. 1641
Zubdat-ut-Tavārīkh (Tahavvur Khān) ... Add. 100580

The following lists include only those works which have been fully utilized and quoted in the thesis.

Published Works (Persian)

'Abd-ul-Bāqī Nahāvandī, *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī.* 2 Vols.
'Abd-ul-Razzāq Samsām-ul-Daula, *Maā'sir-ul-Umarā.* 3 Vols.
Abul Fazl, *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī.* (Asiatic Society of Bengāl.)
— *Akbar Nāma.* 3 Vols. (Asiatic Society of Bengāl.)
Abū Turāb, *Tārīkh-i-Gujrāt.* (Edited by Sir Denison Ross.)
'Afīf (Shams-i-Sirāj), *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī.*
Ahmad (ibn 'Umar Nizāmi, 'Arūzī of Samarkand), *Chahār Maqāla.* (Translated by E. G. Browne.)

Bābar (Emperor), *Bābar Nāma.* (Translated by 'Abd-ul-Rahīm Khān Khānān.)
Badā'ūnī (Abdul Qādir), *Muntakhab-al-Tavārīkh.*
Barnī (Ziā), *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī.*

Gulbadan Bānu Begam, *Humāyūn Nāma.*

Husain Vāiz, *Akhlāq-I-Muhsanī.*

Iqbāl Muhammad, *Rāhat-us-Sudūr.* (Gibb Memorial Series, 1921.)

Jahāngīr (Emperor), *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.* (Edited by Sir Sayyid A. Khān.)

LĀHORĪ ('Abd-ul-Hamīd) *Bādshāh Nāma* (Shāh Jahān). (Asiatic Society of Bengāl.)

MINHĀJ-I-SIRĀJ, *Tabqāt-i-Nāsirī.*
MU'TAMAD KHĀN, *Iqbāl Nāma* (Jahāngīr).

NIZĀM-UL-MULK, *Siyāsat Nāma.* (Edited by Charles Scheffer.)

SĀLIH (Muhammad-Kambuh), *'Amal-i-Sālih.* 2 Vols. (Asiatic Society of Bengāl.)
SAMSĀM-UD-DAULA, *Maāsir-ul-Umarā.*
SCHEFFER, (Edited by), (1) *Ādāb-i-Saltanat va vizārat* (author not known).
— (2) *Siyāsat Nāma.*

OTHER PUBLISHED WORKS INCLUDING TRANSLATIONS (ENGLISH, FRENCH AND URDŪ)

AMĪR 'ALĪ, *History of the Saracens.*
ARNOLD, SIR THOMAS WALKER—
(1) *The Caliphate.*
(2) *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls.*
(3) *Behzād and His Paintings in the Zafar Nāma.*

BADEN POWELL, B. H., *The Indian Village Community.*
BARTHOLD, W., *Turkestan Down to Mongol Invasion.* (Gibb Memorial Series.)
BATTŪTA, ABDULLA IBN, *Travels in Asia and Africa.* Translated (English), selected, with an Introduction by Prof. A. R. Gibb.
BENĪ PRASAD—
(1) *The State in Ancient India.*
(2) *Theory of Government in Ancient India.*
(3) *History of Jahāngīr.*
BEVERIDGE, H. S., English Translation, *Akbar Nāma.* 3 Vols.
BEVERIDGE, A. S., Mrs.—
(1) English Translation of *Humāyūn Nama*, by Gulbadan Bānu Begam.
(2) Introduction to Count von Noer's *Akbar.*
BERNIER, *Travels* (Constable's Oriental Miscellany, 1891).
BLOCHMANN, H., English Translation of *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī.* Parts I and II.
BROWNE, E. G., *Literary History of Persia.*
BUNTING, W. L., *Where Geography and History meet.*

CHAILLEY-BERT, JOSEPH, *Administrative Problems of British India.* (1910.)

DE LAET, *Empire of the Great Mogul.* Edited by Hoyland and Banerjee.

EDWARDES AND GARRETT, *Mughal Rule in India.*

FINCH, WILLIAM, *Travels, 1608–11.* (Foster.)
FOSTER, SIR WILLIAM—(Edited by)
(1) *Early Travels in India, 1583–1619.*
(2) *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1615–19.*

GIBB, PROFESSOR HAMILTON ALEXANDER ROSKEEN, English Translation (selected) of *Ibn Battūta.* (See under Battūta.)
GHOSHAL, U., *A History of Hindū Political Theories.*

HAMILTON, English Translation of *Hedāya.*
HAVELL, E. B.—
(1) *History of Aryan Rule in India.*
(2) *Handbook to Āgra and the Tāj.*
HAWKINS, WILLIAM, *Travels, 1608–13.* (Foster.)
HOBHOUSE, L.T.—
(1) *The Elements of Social Justice.*
(2) *Morals in Evolution.*
HOLDISCH, SIR THOMAS HUNGERFORD, *India.*

IRVINE, WILLIAM, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls.*

JONES, G. H., *Some Parallels between Celtic and Indian Constitution.*

KHALDŪN, 'ABD-AL-RAHMĀN IBN, *Muqaddima Tārīkh.*
(1) French Translation, M. DE SLANE, '*Les Prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldūn.*'
(2) Urdū Translation by MAULVĪ ABDUL RAHMĀN. (Lahore.)
KHUDĀ BAKHSH. (See under Kremer.)
KREMER, ALFRED VON—
(1) *The Orient under the Caliphs* (English Translation of Khudā Bakhsh).
(2) *Politics in Islam.* Translation as above.
(3) *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization.* 2 Vols. Translation as above.

LOWELL, A. LAWRENCE, *Government and Parties in Continental Europe.*

LYBYER, A. H., *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Times of Suleiman the Magnificent.* (Harvard Historical Studies.)

MAJOR, R. H.—(Edited by) *India in the 15th Century.*
MALLESON, G. B., *Akbar.*
MATHAI, JOHN, *Village Government in British India.*
MĀVARDĪ, AL-, ('Alī Ibn-i-Muhammad), *Ahkām-i-Sultāniya*, French Translation of Part I, *Le Droit du Califat*, by LEON OSTROROG.
MODY, J. J., *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar.*
MONSERRATE, FATHER, *Commentary.* Edited by S. N. Banerjee and J. S. Hoyland.
MORELAND, W. H.—
(1) *India at the Death of Akbar.*
(2) *From Akbar to Aurangzeb.*
(3) *The Agrarian System of Moslem India.*
MUKERJEE, R.—
(1) *Fundamental Unity of India.*
(2) *Democracies of the East.*

PELSAERT, *Jahāngīr's India.* (Edited by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl.)
PRICE, D., *English Translation of the reputed Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.* (Memoirs.)

QANŪNGO, K., *Sher Shāh.*

RENELL, JAMES, *Memoir of a Map of Hindostān, or the Great Mogul Empire.*
ROGERS AND BEVERIDGE, *English Translation of Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.* (Royal Asiatic Society.)

SARKAR, J. N.—
(1) *The Mughal Administration.*
(2) *Studies in Mughal India.*
SCHEFFER, CHARLES, *Introduction to Ādāb-i-Saltanat* in French (Paris, 1883). See under Persian Printed Works.
SMITH, VINCENT, *Akbar the Great Mogul.*
STRACHEY, SIR JOHN, *India, Its Administration and Progress.*

TERRY, EDWARD, *Travels, 1616–19.* (Foster.)
THOMAS, EDWARD, *Revenue Resources of the Moghul Empire.*
TRITTON, A. S., *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects.*

VAIDYA, C. V., *Downfall of Hindu India.*

VON NOER, COUNT, *The Kaiser* (Akbar). English Translation by MRS. A. S. BEVERIDGE.

MISCELLANEOUS

Encyclopædia Britannica—
(1) Article on Asia.
(2) Article on Himālayas.

Encyclopædia of Islām, Vols. I and II.

Journal of Indian History, Vol. I.

T'oung Pao Archives, 1916.

INDEX